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IBN MADA AL-OURTUBI AND THE "BOOK IN REFUTATION OF THE  
GRAMMARIANS"

*Indiana University*

PH.D. 1984

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Ibn Maḍā' al-Ourṭubī  
and the Book in Refutation  
of the Grammarians

Ronald G. Wolfe

Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures  
Indiana University

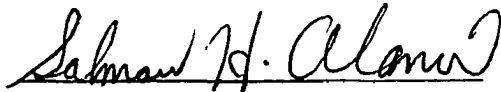
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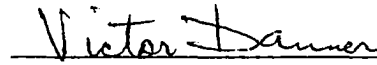
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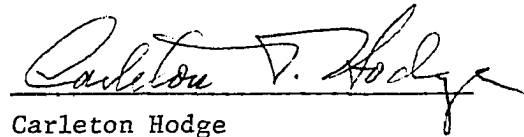
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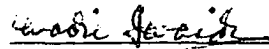
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Carleton Hodge



Wadie Jwaideh



1984

Ronald G. Wolfe

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For

Ann

whose love, patience, faith and wisdom  
made this work possible

:

"She gazes with a beguiling languid look,  
Weaker than the argument of a grammarian."

Aḥmad ibn Fāris

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For decades, the study of traditional Arabic grammar theory has been largely neglected in the West where Arabists of the linguistic persuasion have focused either on developing materials to support the teaching of Arabic as a foreign language or on applying modern linguistic theories to the analysis of Arabic. Until recently, Western language studies of the traditional theory and principles of Arabic grammar as discussed in this dissertation were extremely limited. The richness of the Arabic grammatical tradition is perhaps surpassed only by the difficulty the non-native Arabic scholar encounters while studying it, but fortunately the field is currently witnessing a rapid development of interest.

The belief that a familiarity with this tradition is an essential part of the education of a well-trained student of the Arab world, and that a theory is often best understood when studied while cast in critical relief, were important factors leading me to investigate Arabic grammatical theory through the writing of Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī. However, my interest in Arabic grammar first developed because of a belief that improved language education can make an important contribution to manpower development in the Arab world.

There are many difficulties confronting Arabic language education, but it seems clear that a simplified presentation of grammar may lead to improved learning efficiency, and

ultimately to higher rates of literacy. For much of this century, many Arab educators have felt that the ideas of Ibn Maḍā' have a special role to play in the simplification process. The reappearance of his work nearly half a century ago set in motion a reform movement that continues to the present day. It is my hope that the work presented in this dissertation will contribute to both processes: increased Western scholarly attention to traditional Arabic grammatical thought in general, and an accelerated effort to present a simplified grammar to the non-specialist Arab student, in particular.

I would like to express special appreciation to the Ford Foundation which funded me through three years of graduate study, and to Mr. James T. Ivy, the Ford Foundation representative in Cairo from 1968-73, who recognized the importance of Arabic literacy as a development matter and made my fellowship possible. I am deeply indebted to the many Arabic professors at Georgetown and Indiana with whom I studied. In particular, I wish to mention at Georgetown the late Dr. Richard S. Harrell, Dr. George Selim and Mrs. Laila Tewfik who first introduced me to Arabic in 1958. Drs. Wallace Erwin, Irfan Shahid, Karl Stowasser, and Mr. Moukhtar al-Ani all contributed generously to my Arabic education over the years.

While I was at Indiana University, Drs. Salman Al-Ani, Victor Danner, Carleton Hodge and Wadie Jwaideh contributed

generously of their time and knowledge and agreed to serve as members of my dissertation committee. A special acknowledgement of gratitude and appreciation is reserved for Dr. Salih Altoma, chairman of my dissertation committee, who has been a distinguished mentor, colleague and friend ever since a mutual concern for Arabic language education brought us together in Cairo in 1972. It was he who first suggested that I concentrate on the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians. His thoroughness, scholarship and advice have guided me throughout my graduate education and the writing of this dissertation.

Finally, I wish to express my deep appreciation and thanks to my wife, Ann, to whom this work is dedicated. Her editorial skills and judgement have been an invaluable aid to me. She typed all the complicated early drafts and revisions of the translation, and later entered it on the word processor. With characteristic grace, she showed no concern when I mistakenly erased fifty-five pages of laboriously entered text from the diskette while tinkering with a word processing program, and patiently sat down and re-entered them over the next several days. She has been my mainstay throughout this long and rigorous effort. This dissertation is at least as much hers as it is mine.

R.G.W.



Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī and the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians

Ronald C. Wolfe

Abstract

The Cordovan scholar and jurist Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī (1120-1196/513-586), after receiving his education under the Almoravid dynasty in Andalusian Spain, emigrated to Tinmalal in the Upper Atlas of present-day Morocco, where he began a career as Arabic and Koranic tutor to the sons of the founder of the rival Almohad dynasty which was to lead ultimately to his assuming the position of chief juriconsult to the Almohad Empire. After his retirement Ibn Maḍā' wrote a little noticed heretical treatise challenging the traditional theoretical framework for Arabic grammatical analysis. Entitled the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians, it draws philosophical inspiration from the rigid literalist creed of the Almohads and calls for the abolition of rationalist grammar based in the Greek notion of causality.

Traditional Arabic grammar has a highly elaborated system to explain desinential inflection (i'rāb) and to account for the four basic cases for nouns and verbs: accusative/subjunctive (naṣb), genitive (khafd) or (jarr), nominative/indicative (raf') and jussive (jazm). The principal explanatory concept employed, that of grammatical regency ('amal), led to the postulation of ellipsis and suppression of grammatical regents with ultimately contradictory results. Ibn Maḍā' asserted that earlier grammarians had overworked the notion of grammatical regency to the point that it lost touch with the reality of Arabic grammar, and more seriously, thereby posed a threat to the Islamic view of the Koran as a complete and perfect divine text in need of no additional explanatory support, linguistic or otherwise.

In this dissertation, an annotated English translation of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians is provided with three introductory chapters.

Chapter One discusses the author's career, considers the date for the writing of the original, and suggests that the popular title for the work may be incorrect. Chapter Two discusses the background of Arabic rationalist grammar, its major theoretical principles, and offers a section by section review of Ibn Mada''s proposal. Chapter Three considers the earlier sources that provided inspiration for his attack and reviews the impact of his work in the medieval and modern period.

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Salih J. Altoma, Chairman

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Salman Al-Ani

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Victor Danner

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Carleton Hodge

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Wadie Jwaideh

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## Part Two

### The Book in Refutation of the Grammarians

#### English Translation

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PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī  
and the  
Book in Refutation of the Grammarians



## I. Introduction

The city of Cordova in Muslim Spain was one of the grandest and most refined cities of the early medieval period. Conquered by a detachment of 700 men from the army of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād in Dhū l-Ḥijja 91/October 710, it became capital of the new Muslim administration of Andalusia under Umayyad control in 97/717. Cordova returned to European Christian control 500 years later when the forces of Ferdinand III, king of Castile and Leon, occupied the city in 633/1236. However the intervening five centuries of Muslim administration in Andalusia propelled Cordova to the position of pre-eminent city of learning, culture, art and refinement in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Cordova remained in Umayyad hands despite the overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate in Damascus in 132/750 when Marwān II was killed by the Abbasids. Many members of the Umayyad family were put to death, but one, `Abd al-Raḥmān I, escaped to Andalusia where he was able to establish an independent emirate in Cordova in 138/756. `Abd al-Raḥmān III, who ruled from 299-350/912-961, proclaimed himself caliph and ensured the continuity of Umayyad rule in the city until 422/1031. His son, Ḥakam II, who ruled from 350-365/961-976, reportedly built a library containing 400,000 volumes which

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<sup>1</sup>For a general history of the Muslims in Spain, see W. Montgomery Watt, A History of Islamic Spain, Edinburgh, 1965.

were sent to him by his purchase agents throughout the Islamic East. He promoted the spread of education by founding twenty-seven schools in Cordova alone, and by providing for the free education of the poor.

In this way, Muslim Cordova was established as a center of intellectual activity in Europe well before other major cities. From the fourth/tenth century on, learning in the Islamic East passed to Andalusia in all fields, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, philology, physics, chemistry, geography, history, music, theology and philosophy, where it was further developed and passed on to Latin Europe in two major ways: 1) through translations of Arabic works into Latin, and 2) through the students and scholars of Europe who studied in Andalusian colleges and universities. Major contributions of Islam to Europe occurred between the latter half of the fifth/eleventh century and the middle half of the seventh/thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Among the scholars who enriched civilization from Cordova were Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), a doctor, poet, philosopher, historian and founder of comparative religious studies, Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 468/1076), one of the oldest and best of the historians of Andalusia, author of al-Muqtabas fi tārīkh al-andalus, Maymonides (d. 601/1204), a Jewish physician who eventually served in the court of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn

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<sup>2</sup>Mehdi Nakosteen, History of Islamic Origins of Western Education: A.D. 800-1350, Boulder, 1964, p. 191.

al-Ayyūbī in Cairo, and Averroes (d. 594/1198), the famous commentator on Aristotle, who served as a judge in Cordova in the time of the Almohads.

## II. Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī

The subject of this study is Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī, "the Cordovan," and his little-known iconoclastic treatise on Arabic grammar which created a considerable stir in contemporary Arabist circles after it was rediscovered in a Cairo library in the 1930s. Ibn Maḍā' was born 30 Ramaḍān 513/5 January 1120 in Cordova into a well-established Arab family. Little is known of the immediate circumstances of his family; however they traced their lineage back to the very first Arab settlers in Andalusia.<sup>3</sup>

### A. Biographical Sources

The most important biographical source for information on the life of Ibn Maḍā' is Kitāb al-dhayl wal-takmila li-kitābayn al-mawṣūl wal-ṣila by Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, to which we have just referred. Other sources are Ibn Farḥūn, al-Dībāj al-mudhahhab, most of which repeats

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<sup>3</sup>Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, Kitāb al-dhayl wal-takmila li-kitābayn al-mawṣūl wal-ṣila, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1964, Entry 291, pp. 212-23. A complete translation of this biography of Ibn Maḍā' is provided in Appendix A to which subsequent notes will refer. A Lakhmid, Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī, was the governor of Andalusia responsible to the Umayyad caliph in Damascus in 97/716 for six months. G. S. Colin, "Al-Andalus", EI<sup>2</sup>, 1:493.

Ibn 'Abd al-Malik verbatim,<sup>4</sup> Ibn Diḥya, al-Muṭrib min ash'ar ahl al-maghrib,<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrā',<sup>6</sup> Aḥmad al-Dabbī, Bughyat al-multamis,<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Abbār, Takmilat al-sīla l-Ibn Bashkuwāl,<sup>8</sup> al-Suyūṭī, Bughyat al-wu'at,<sup>9</sup> Muḥammad Makhlūf, Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-mālikiyya,<sup>10</sup> Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwanṣārī, Rawḍāt al-jannāt,<sup>11</sup> and Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, al-Mu'jib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-maghrib.<sup>12</sup>

The Egyptian biographer of grammarians, al-Qiftī, writing in the century following Ibn Maḍā's death, unfortunately makes no mention of him.<sup>13</sup> Biography 226 in Ibn

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<sup>4</sup>Edited by Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī Abū l-Nūr, Cairo, 1972. 2 vol. Entry 92, 1:208-211.

<sup>5</sup>Edited by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, et. al., Cairo, 1954. See entry for Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd Ibn Abī l-Khiṣāl, p. 187 and p. 91. Ibn Maḍā is cited as a source of information for him by Ibn Diḥya, who was thirty years Ibn Maḍā's junior.

<sup>6</sup>Edited by Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl, Bibliotheca Islamica:8, Cairo, 1932, entry 289, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup>Cairo, 1967, entry 465, p. 207.

<sup>8</sup>Ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo, 1955, 1:79.

<sup>9</sup>Cairo, 1964, entry 613, 1:323.

<sup>10</sup>Beirut, 197(?), reprint of first edition of 1349 A.H., entry 493, 1:160.

<sup>11</sup>Tehran, no date, entry 97, 1:303-04.

<sup>12</sup>Edited by Reinhart P.A. Dozy, entitled The History of the Almohades, Leiden, 1881.

<sup>13</sup>Jamāl al-Dīn Al-Qiftī, Inbāh al-ruwāt 'alā anbāh al-nuḥāt, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1950.

al-Abbār's Jadhwat al-muqtabas, p. 122,<sup>14</sup> for Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a Cordovan who studied with Ibn Waḍḍāḥ and died in Andalusia, is probably that of Ibn Maḍā', but the information given is too scanty to be of use or provide certainty. However, Ibn al-Abbār mentions in al-Mu'jam, p.142,<sup>15</sup> that Ibn Maḍā' wrote a biographical treatise on Muhammad b. Aḥmad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qaysī (d. 540/1145). Thus it is reasonable to conclude that biography 226 of Jadhwat al-muqtabas is that of Ibn Maḍā'. An interesting insight into the period of Ibn Maḍā''s chief judgeship is found in a biography of his protege and successor to a chief judgeship under the Almohads, Abū 'Abdallāh 'Alī b. Marwān.<sup>16</sup>

Ibn Maḍā' is mentioned in passing in Nafḥ al-tīb in the presentation of a verse of poetry which was written to him by a Maghrebi colleague or student who missed his presence:

Oh! You who have planted in me the fruits of glory,  
And watered them with your cool sweet water,  
I fear their flowers will fall,  
If you no longer think of watering them.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Cairo, 1952.

<sup>15</sup>Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh Ibn al-Abbār, al-Mu'jam fī aṣḥāb al-qāḍī l-imām Abī 'Alī l-Ṣāḍafī, ed. Franciscus Codera, Madrid, 1886.

<sup>16</sup>'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribī, al-Ghusūn al-yāni'a fī mahāsīn shu'arā' al-mi'a l-sābi'a, Cairo, 1967, pp. 31-32.

<sup>17</sup>Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, Nafḥ al-tīb min ghusn al-andalus al-raṭīb, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968, 2:427.

### B. Family Background

Ibn Maḍā'a's full name is Aḥmad b. `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Sa`īd b. Ḥurayth b. `Asim Ibn Maḍā'a b. Muḥannad b. `Umayr al-Lakhmī al-Qurṭubī al-Jayyānī, the latter three nisbas referring respectively to his tribal origin, his birthplace and the city of Jaen in Andalusia where his forefathers originally settled. His surnames are Abū Ja`far, Abū l-`Abbās and Abū l-Qāsim, the latter little used.<sup>18</sup>

Ibn `Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī informs us of a history of the Arabs and Berbers who entered Spain which has not survived. The author, al-Ḥukayyim `Abdallāh b. `Ubaydallāh (d. 341/952), stated that the Lakhmid tribe included the clan of Muḥannad b. `Umayr, "a distinguished and religious group, having brave knights, baladiyyūn of the first wave (of the Arabs who entered Spain)" residing in Jaen.<sup>19</sup> According to Hitti, the original settlers in Jaen were dispatched by the Umayyad Caliph Hishām in 124/741 to quell the Berber insurrection threatening Arabs already in Spain. Balj b. Bishr al-Qushayrī seized Cordova and the government. The division of Arab soldiers from Qinnisrin in northern Syria was settled in Jaen.<sup>20</sup> Maḍā'a b. Muḥannad b. `Umayr,

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<sup>18</sup>Appendix A, p. 272, contrary to F. de la Granja, "Ibn Maḍā'a," El<sup>2</sup>, 3:855, who states the three surnames were used indiscriminately.

<sup>19</sup>Appendix A, pp. 270-71.

<sup>20</sup>Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, London, 1956, p. 502.

from whom Ibn Maḍā' takes his name, was the head of Jaen in his time. A descendent in the line of Ibn Maḍā' later lived in Sharrana in the region of Jerez de la Frontera.<sup>21</sup>

### C. Education

Ibn Maḍā' received a traditional education which included memorizing and chanting the Qur'ān, Arabic grammar, religious sciences, Hadith, principles of jurisprudence, medicine, mathematics and geometry. He learned several languages, which we may assume included Spanish and Berber.<sup>22</sup> The emphasis in Islamic education was on the role of the individual teacher rather than institutions or madrasas. Hence, we find that Ibn Maḍā's biographers list numerous scholars with whom he studied, and students who studied with him, but make no reference to the mosques or madrasas to which they were attached.

In general knowledge was acquired through memorization, rather than discovered, with heavy emphasis on the purely religious sciences such as Hadith, jurisprudence, theology, Koranic exegesis with grammar and literature as necessary

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<sup>21</sup>Appendix A, p. 272.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 275.

instruments in the process.<sup>23</sup> After teaching a full course, the teacher personally gave a certificate (ijāza) to his student who was then authorized to teach perhaps one subject or one text only, or perhaps several subjects or specified books which he had studied and learned with thorough proficiency.<sup>24</sup>

Grammar was a tool of the other sciences. In the hierarchical study of subjects, the student passed from the lowest or least challenging through the higher ones. Not enough time was available to study any one well. The serial arrangement might be: Arabic grammar and language (as the lowest), literature, arithmetic, philosophy, law, jurisprudence, theology, Qur'anic exegesis, and Hadith. But this was not the only method, for sometimes the student would study a subject in one grade, then in the next grade study the same subject in greater detail.<sup>25</sup>

Ibn Maḍā' showed a strong interest and ability in Arabic at an early age and went to study the Book of Sibawayh and an uncountable number of other grammatical, philological and literary works with Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-

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<sup>23</sup>A thorough study of Islamic education is found in George Makdisi, The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West, Edinburgh, 1981, esp. pp. 80-152 for the organization and methodology of instruction and learning. Fazlur Rahman, Islam, University of Chicago Press, 1979, pp. 181-192, is also useful.

<sup>24</sup>Fazlur Rahman, ibid., p. 185.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 190. Makdisi, Rise of Colleges, p. 76.



Rammāk in Seville.<sup>26</sup> Another of his Arabic teachers was Abū Bakr b. Sulaymān b. Samḥūn.<sup>27</sup>

#### D. Early Career

Ibn `Abd al-Malik indicates that Ibn Maḍā' decided to leave Cordova after 540/1145 while in his late twenties to travel in the Maghreb until he reached the Almohad center at Tinmalal where Ibn Tūmart, the founder of the Almohads, had started his movement. Andalusia and much of the Maghreb were still under Almoravid control, but they were witnessing increased instability as a result of Almohad forays. `Abd al-Mu'min b. `Alī, successor to Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130), had been ruler of Tinmalal and caliph for about fifteen years when he managed to wrest Fez and Marrakesh away from the Almoravids permanently in 542/1147.

It is reported that Ibn Maḍā' left Cordova after meeting with injustice at the hands of an envious peer and compatriot, but we can only guess what other motives impelled him to leave the rich urban and intellectual life of Cordova to seek his fortune in the remote Berber oasis of Tinmalal in the valley of the Nafees River. That he indeed found life difficult in the upper Atlas Mountains is attested by the verse attributed to him in Ibn `Abd al-Malik:

How I wish I knew, but wishing benefits not the homesick,

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<sup>26</sup>Al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 1:323.

<sup>27</sup>Appendix A, p. 273.

Will my life find peace,  
When I gaze into the eyelid of Cordova,  
And my eye no longer sees the city of Nafees?<sup>28</sup>

Sophisticated and well-educated in the Qur'ān, Hadith and Arabic, Ibn Maḍā' found himself very much in demand and sought out by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī as a tutor for his sons. Ibn Tūmart had made memorization of sections of the Qur'ān a central part of the training of his disciples to instruct them jointly in religious principles and Arabic, which was the language of the Qur'ān, but not the language of his Berber fellow tribesmen.<sup>29</sup> Ibn Maḍā''s learning and personality earned him a favored position among the sons of 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī, and we may assume, with the caliph himself. His son, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, studied the Qur'ān intensively and was able to master large parts of it. Al-Marrākushī, in al-Mu'jib, p. 155, informs us that "he was the best of all people in his ability to recite the Qur'ān."

When 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī assigned his sons to governorships in the provinces in 551/1156, he gave Ibn Maḍā' the position of kātib (scribe) and ordered him to accompany his son Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Mu'min to Fez which served as the Almohad base of operations and as a supply center for provisioning troops. As a scribe, Ibn Maḍā''s

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 282.

<sup>29</sup>'Abdallāh 'Alī 'Allām, al-Dawla l-muwahhidiyya fī l-maghrib fī 'ahd 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī, Cairo, 1971, p. 316 ff.

duties would have included writing judicial decrees and fetwas. Familiarity with this work frequently led to capable scribes eventually becoming judges themselves.<sup>30</sup>

It appears that Ibn Maḍā' was first entrusted with a judgeship during this period spent in Fez (551-63/1156-67), but the inadequacy of the sources does not permit us to assign a specific date to the appointment.<sup>31</sup> Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī left Fez with his brother, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, to take charge of Marrakesh when 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī left for Rabat in Shawwāl 553/November 1158.<sup>32</sup> He subsequently returned and was still governor of Fez when his father died on 10 Jumādā I 558/17 February 1163. He and two other brothers supported the succession of the declared crown prince, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, whose reign lasted about 45 days before he was overturned in a coup d'état engineered by Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, who subsequently reigned until 580/1184. After having opposed Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf's usurpation of the caliphate, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī died under mysterious circumstances shortly after returning from burying his father in Tinmalal.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>J.F.P. Hopkins, Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary until the Sixth Century of the Hijra, London, 1958, p. 130.

<sup>31</sup>Appendix A, pp. 270, 280.

<sup>32</sup>Muḥammad 'Abdallāh 'Inān, 'Asr al-murābiṭīn wal-muwahḥidīn fī l-maghrib wal-andalus, Cairo, 1964, 1:294.

<sup>33</sup>"Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf," EI<sup>2</sup>, 1:160.

### E. Return to Andalusia

Although we cannot be certain of Ibn Maḍā' 's movements during the twelve years after his assignment to Fez, Ibn 'Abd al-Malik informs us that he left for Cordova in 563/1168 as shaykh of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Mu'min.<sup>34</sup> This was a significant appointment for Ibn Maḍā' since 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī had instituted the practice in 551/1156 of assigning a shaykh to be responsible for the education and training of each of his governor sons.<sup>35</sup> Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm was appointed as governor of Cordova which had been without a governor since 561/1166. Ibn Maḍā' may have been selected as his shaykh because of his familiarity with the city, and may have even lobbied for the position and the opportunity to return to his birthplace. The reception he received upon returning home was less than he might have hoped for however.

Ibn 'Abd al-Malik informs us that he soon had a falling out with two dignitaries of the city,<sup>36</sup> Abū Muḥammad Ibn Mughīth b. al-Ṣaffār, judge of Cordova, and Abū Muḥammad

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<sup>34</sup>Appendix A, p. 278.

<sup>35</sup>Charles-Andre Julien, History of North Africa, ed. C.C. Stewart, London, 1970, p. 108.

<sup>36</sup>Appendix A, pp. 278-79. Extensive searches in the indexes of biographical encyclopedias and historical works dealing with this period have failed to uncover any trace of either of the two men mentioned.

b. Yaghmur, chief of the ṭalaba.<sup>37</sup> The nature of the dispute is not disclosed, but it seems to have continued for an extended period of time. It may have been a simple case of professional jealousy or may have involved a struggle for power to gain the attention of the governor with whose family Ibn Maḍā' now had been associated for twenty years.<sup>38</sup> Matters came to a head, however, when a letter deriding and mocking Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ṣaffār was sent to Ibn Maḍā' by a man named al-Arajūnī, who urged him to call the Cordovan judge to account.

Unfortunately, this letter came to the attention of the caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf in Seville where Ibn Maḍā'

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<sup>37</sup>The ṭalaba were a high-ranking class in the Almohad socio-political hierarchy receiving an annual government stipend, other allowances and clothes, some of whom travelled with the caliph. As part of their daily routine, they provided the caliph with prayers and readings from the Qur'ān and compositions of the Mahdi. They frequently represented Almohad authority in the provinces and were men learned in the sciences and dialectic ('ilm al-naẓar). One can understand why Ibn Maḍā' might have difficulty in his relations with them, since he represented a threat to their position and authority in Cordova by virtue of his having deep ties from birth there and his close relationship to the new governor. Hopkins, Medieval Muslim Government, pp. 104-05.

<sup>38</sup>Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm did not stay long in Cordova after his arrival. His brother, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, recalled him in Jumādā I 564/February 1169 to Marrakesh to lay plans for finishing off Ibn Mardaniṣh. He stayed there until early 565/1170 when he returned to Cordova. 'Inān, 'Asr al-murābiṭīn, 2:41.

and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm had gone to visit him.<sup>39</sup> Its contents so offended the caliph that he banned Ibn Maḍā' from attending his council and shunned him. Ibn Maḍā''s political estrangement continued until Abū Ya`qūb Yūsuf decided to send his brother Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā b. `Abd al-Mu'min, governor of Bougie, back to his province.<sup>40</sup> One is tempted to conjecture that Ibn Maḍā''s long association in Fez with Abū l-Ḥasan `Alī, the brother who refused to acknowledge Abū Ya`qūb Yūsuf's accession to power, had soured his relations with Abū Ya`qūb Yūsuf and proved a factor that magnified what otherwise would appear to have been a rather minor incident.

In any event, Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā, upon learning that he was being ordered back to Bougie, intervened on behalf of Ibn Maḍā' whom he wished to have appointed as judge

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<sup>39</sup>Abū Ya`qūb Yūsuf had served as governor of Seville from 551/1156 until his accession 558/1163. As caliph, he did not return to Andalusia until 566/1171, staying first at Granada, then at Seville until 570/1175. Al-Marrākushī, al-Mu`jib, p. 223 ff.

<sup>40</sup>`Abd al-Mu'min b. `Alī had taken Bougie from the Hammādid dynasty, encountering little resistance in 546/1152. The conquest of Bougie was significant because it brought under Almohad dominion the nearby settlement of Mallala where Ibn Tūmart had spent years working out his doctrine, and where he eventually met `Abd al-Mu'min b. `Alī. Ibid., pp. 206-07.

of the city.<sup>41</sup> He pointed out that Ibn Maḍā' had been in service to the caliphal family for nearly thirty years and had fully earned their respect and confidence. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf granted Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā's request, forgave Ibn Maḍā', and confirmed him as judge of Bougie.<sup>42</sup> Although the date is difficult to determine with certainty, this appointment was probably made during the latter part of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf's stay in Seville, perhaps Fall 569/1173. Ibn Maḍā' left for Bougie with Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā and stayed there until the latter's death (Dhū l-Qa'da 571/May-June 1176) whereupon he was summoned to Marrakesh by Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf and reinstated in his court as an advisor to the caliph.<sup>43</sup>

#### F. Appointment to Chief Judgeship

Ibn Maḍā''s career reached its pinnacle during this stay in Marrakesh at the court of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf when

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<sup>41</sup>Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā was appointed by Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf to the governorship of Bougie in Jumādā I 561/March 1166, from where he returned to Marrakesh in 566/1171. After crossing to Andalusia, he returned to North Africa where he died of the plague about Dhū l-Qa'da 571/May-June 1176, but whether in Marrakesh or Bougie is not clear. 'Inān, 'Asr al-murābiṭīn, 2:20, 2:62, 2:94.

<sup>42</sup>Appendix A, p. 279.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., pp. 279-80. The sequence of events in Ibn Maḍā''s life is unclear at this point in Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's account. On the one hand, he states that when Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā died, Ibn Maḍā' was called back to Marrakesh. But a few lines later, he says that after Bougie Ibn Maḍā' went to Tunis as judge. He may have served as judge in Tunis briefly until the caliph summoned him back to Marrakesh.

he was appointed to the position of chief judge (qāḍī l-jamā'a) of the Almohads.<sup>44</sup> Ibn Maḍā' succeeded Hajjāj b. Ibrāhīm al-Tujībī and continued to serve as chief judge throughout the reign of the Caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf who died while attempting to regain control of the Portugese fortress at Santarem on 18 Rabī' II 580/29 July 1184.<sup>45</sup> The new caliph, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, reconfirmed Ibn Maḍā' in the position upon assuming the caliphate.

As chief judge, Ibn Maḍā' was a senior officer of the Almohad state. The caliph's appointment of the chief judge was as important a state function and claim to independence as coining money and being named in the Friday sermons. Many judges worked without a salary from the head of state to show their independence from the ruler.<sup>46</sup>

Discussing the Almohad state, 'Inān says,

Religious positions included the judgeship, which was the most important, the Shūrā, which was appended to the judgeship, and delivering the sermon in the mosques. In every provincial capital a chief judge was appointed whose responsibility it was to appoint deputies to the local courts of his region. The judgeship during the time of the Almohads in Andalusia and the Maghreb continued to maintain its long-established importance and majesty. The Almohad caliph appointed

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<sup>44</sup>The term qāḍī l-jamā'a, equivalent to qāḍī l-quḍāt in the Islamic East, came into use in Andalusia about 140/757. Hopkins, Medieval Muslim Government, p. 123 ff.

<sup>45</sup>Al-Marrākushī, al-Mu'jib, p. 237. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Appendix A, p. 280, Ibn Maḍā' succeeded Abū Mūsā b. 'Umrān on the day the latter died, 25 Sha'bān 578/25 December 1182.

<sup>46</sup>Hopkins, Medieval Muslim Government, p. 123 ff.



the chief judges in all the major cities without any intervention from the governor. The same rules applied to appointing judges to Andalusia. Importantly, Andalusians had been selected for judgeships in their regions since the days of the Almoravids. The Almohad caliphs did not try to change this well-established practice except in those rare instances when an outstanding Maghrebi personality would be selected for the position. Indeed, the Almohad caliph would frequently select outstanding jurists of Andalusia to the position of chief judgeship of Marrakesh...such as Abū Ja'far Ibn Maḍā'.... Clearly, the reason for this was the superiority of juridical studies in Andalusia, and the superiority of Andalusian jurists in the practice and application of Malikite law in their decisions.<sup>47</sup>

As 'Inān points out, Ibn Maḍā' was a follower of the Malikite school of jurisprudence, the dominant school in North Africa and Andalusia. The rise of Ibn Tūmart and the Almohad state set in motion a protracted struggle between his Zahirist principles and the Malikites. The principal points of contention between them were ijmā', consensus of the jurists, ra'y, issuing opinions when ijmā' was not specifically applicable and qiyās, reasoning by analogy, all three of which were accepted Malikite principles opposed by the Almohades. The Malikites held the view that the concept of a Mahdi returning to lead the Muslims was invalid since neither the Qur'ān nor the Hadith supported it.

Although the Almohads came to power by crushing the strictly Malikite Almoravids, forbid many Malikite practices and held large public burnings of their literature on several occasions, they were obliged to use Malikites as judges

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<sup>47</sup>'Inān, 'Aṣr al-murābiṭīn, 2:628.

much of the time. Moreover, the Malikites were too well-established to be ignored, particularly since the Almohads failed to provide a viable alternate juridical school for the large and unstable region they dominated.<sup>48</sup>

As 'Allām explains:

Although Ibn Tūmart established his own unitarian scholastic madhhab and considered the Malikites a stumbling block, he failed to establish his own juridical school and did not attack Malikism itself. Ibn Tūmart set forth in writing his instructions regarding his new unitarian doctrine, Mahdism, the imamate, and infallibility. At the same time, he set out his juridical views regarding worship. But they are little more than collections of Hadith taken from the writings of Ibn Mālik in al-Muwatta', devoid of the isnād, the names of religious scholars and their differing interpretations. As such they more closely resemble educational materials which our teachers write for their students, extracted from large reference sources to save time and energy. Ibn Tūmart was less concerned with obliging his followers to adhere to these sections on jurisprudence than he was that they follow his unitarian way and show faith in Mahdism along the lines he had established."<sup>49</sup>

Thus it was not totally out of order for Ibn Maḍā' to be assigned to the chief judgeship despite his Malikite origins. First, he had been with the Almohad movement from very early on and had obviously reconciled his Malikism with the philosophy of the movement at a very early stage in his career. Secondly, the Almohads had not institutionalized

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<sup>48</sup>Of the twelve names of Almohad chief judges collected by Hopkins, Medieval Muslim Government, pp. 131-32, including that of Ibn Maḍā', at least three are acknowledged Malikites.

<sup>49</sup>'Allam, al-Dawla l-muwahhidiyya, p. 307. After the death of Ibn Tūmart, 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī had his writings compiled into a single work entitled A'azz mā yuṭlab "The dearest thing to be sought."

a juridical alternative to Malikism. And thirdly, Ibn Maḍā' had long since proven his loyalty and devotion to the Almohad leadership.

#### G. Termination of Chief Judgeship

In order to date the termination of Ibn Maḍā''s judgeship which is discussed in al-Marrākushī,<sup>50</sup> we must briefly review the history of the renewed Almohad-Almoravid battle for supremacy in North Africa that began when Abū Ya`qūb Yūsuf died at the age of forty-two. He was succeeded without opposition by his son, Abū Yūsuf Ya`qūb, who returned to Marrakesh in 580/1184, and as indicated earlier, confirmed Ibn Maḍā' in the position he held as chief judge. Later, Abū Yūsuf Ya`qūb would come to be known as al-Manṣūr for his victory over the army of Alfonso VIII at Alarcos on 8 Sha`bān 591/18 July 1195. However, no sooner had the new caliph come to power than he was challenged by the surviving remnants of the Almoravids whom the Almohads had displaced nearly half a century earlier. A group of the Almoravids, the Banū Ghāniya based on the island of Majorca, had been waiting for the opportunity to engage the Almohads in North Africa. After crossing the Mediterranean, they were successful in taking first the city of Bougie, then other district centers that had been under Almohad

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<sup>50</sup>Appendix A, p. 280.

control. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb led his army assisted by a naval squadron from Cueta and succeeded in regaining Algiers, Bougie, and Constantine in 582/1186. The Banū Ghāniya fled before the Almohads eastward towards Gafsa which they brought under their control with the assistance of Karaqūsh, the ruler of Tripoli. This is the second campaign against Gafsa referred to by Ibn 'Abd al-Malik in recounting the life of Ibn Maḍā'. It was during this campaign that Ibn Maḍā' became ill in Kairouan and was relieved of active service in the post of chief judge.<sup>51</sup>

The Almohads continued their pursuit of the Banū Ghāniya, but they were destined to suffer a severe defeat at 'Umra near Gafsa on 15 Rabī' II 583/24 June 1187. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb's forces finally defeated the Almoravids less than four months later at al-Ḥamma, thus bringing the entire region of North Africa once again under Almohad control.<sup>52</sup>

After this initial defeat at 'Umra, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb went to Tunis briefly to make preparations, then headed back towards Gafsa. Stopping in Kairouan in Rajab 583/September 1187, he sent a message to the Banū Ghāniya asking them to surrender. While in the city awaiting a response from the enemy, he examined the damage that had been done

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<sup>51</sup>ibid. The first campaign against Gafsa took place in 576/1180-81 to quell a rebellion that had broken out among lords of the city.

<sup>52</sup>A. Huici Miranda, "Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr," EI<sup>2</sup>, 1:165.

to the great mosque and rested his troops for the battle that would ensue. The Banū Ghāniya, who refused to surrender, were defeated by the Almohads at al-Ḥamma on 9 Sha'bān 583/14 October 1187.<sup>53</sup>

This sequence of events for which the dates are known thus gives us a reliable means for dating the onset of Ibn Maḍā's illness which led to the termination of his active involvement in the chief judgeship to Rajab-Sha'bān 583/September-October 1187. By this point, Ibn Maḍā' was sixty-seven years old, and had been in the service of the Almohads close to the center of power for forty years.

Ibn Maḍā's successor to the chief judgeship was Abū 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Marwān. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb had been planning to replace Ibn Maḍā' with Abū 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Marwān, and found the former's illness a useful pretext for doing so. Ibn 'Abd al-Malik says further that there was no truth to Abū l-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Jumayyil's (Ibn Dihya's) statement that Ibn Maḍā' was seeking to leave his post and asked to be relieved.<sup>54</sup>

Al-Ghusūn al-yāni'a attributes some measure of responsibility for Abū 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Marwān's promotion to Ibn Maḍā' himself. Abū 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Marwān had spent time with Ibn Maḍā', perhaps as an aide or junior

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<sup>53</sup>Inān, 'Aṣr al-murābiṭīn, 2:161-62.

<sup>54</sup>Appendix A, p. 181.

judge. That their relationship was a good one is attested to by the following anecdote. When Ibn Maḍā' one day asked him how he was, he responded with an extemporaneous verse of poetry:

Oh! You whose time has passed, and who is so-named,<sup>55</sup>  
and whom time did not betray;  
You ask how I am. It should suffice you to look at  
me.  
If there is any good to be hoped for in you,  
The time for it is now.

Ibn Maḍā' responded, "Good will be yours, God willing. I am putting every effort into it." Ibn Maḍā' then began using him as his deputy and recommending him to the post due him. One of his friends went to him and said, "I see you promoting the cause of this man and assisting him to take your position away from you." Ibn Maḍā' laughed and replied, "What you see is your opinion, not mine. This man is one in whom I find rays of happiness. He will advance regardless of whether it pleases or angers me. It is preferable that I let it appear that he is advancing because of my support and efforts on his behalf. If he fulfills his promise, we will share in the public acclaim; if not, he alone will have to bear the blame."<sup>56</sup>

It appears that Abū `Abdallāh b. `Alī b. Marwān did not assume the title of chief judge immediately, however. According to `Inān, 2:655, he was made chief judge in Marrakesh two years later in 585/1189. This would be consistent with the statement in al-Ghusūn al-yāni`a, p. 32, that when Ibn Maḍā' became ill "Ibn Marwan occupied himself with rendering judgements among the people. He showed

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<sup>55</sup>Playing on his name Maḍā' which means sagacity or keenness, but shares the Arabic root m-ḍ-y which relates to the expiry of time.

<sup>56</sup>Ibn Sa`īd, al-Ghusūn al-yāni`a, pp. 31-32.

such excellence of character and political judgement that his name became famous, and Ibn Maḍā' was forgotten. No sooner did Ibn Maḍā' recover from his illness, than Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb began considering appointing Abū 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Marwān as chief judge, and then did so." Ibn 'Abd al-Malik says that when Ibn Maḍā' recovered, he wrote to the caliph requesting permission to come to Marrakesh (presumably to resume the chief judgeship). The caliph responded by appointing him to a judgeship at Bougie, where he served briefly before resigning to return to retirement in Seville where he lived until his death on Thursday, 23 Jumādā I 592/25 April 1196. After funeral prayers the following day at the mosque in Seville, he was buried in the Cemetery of the Nobles outside of Seville's Jahwar gate.<sup>57</sup>

### III. The Book in Refutation of the Grammarians

#### A. Dating the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians

It would be helpful at this point to look a little more closely at the period Ibn Maḍā' spent in retirement in Seville, since it is likely that the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians was written at this time. From internal

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<sup>57</sup>Appendix A, p. 182. Ibn Maḍā' appears to have accepted his successor's appointment gracefully with the following words, "Two cloaks are not equal if one is worn out and the other is new in the hands of the merchants." Ibn Sa'id, al-Ghusūn al-yāni'a, p. 32.

textual statements, p. 144, we know that the work was written during the reign of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, which began in 580/1184 and, p. 255, after the death of his colleague and fellow grammarian Abū l-Qāsim al-Suhaylī in 581/1185. As shown earlier, Ibn Maḍā' served as chief judge until late 583/1187, then after recovering from illness in Tunis, as judge in Bougie for some time before returning to meet al-Manṣūr in Seville. The available historical sources give no indication that Ibn Maḍā' was free to do any teaching or writing during the time of his chief judgeship, but make it clear that he began teaching upon returning to Seville. Ibn 'Abd al-Malik informs us that:

(After resigning from the judgeship in Bougie, Ibn Maḍā')... travelled to Andalusia to meet al-Manṣūr there, taking up residence in Seville where he taught Hadith and various sciences.... When Abū Ja'far arrived in Andalusia he devoted himself to advancing knowledge and being of patient benefit to his students....<sup>58</sup>

Al-Manṣūr, after his accession to the caliphate, did not return to Andalusia until 585-6/1189-90 when he led a campaign to check the attacks of the Castillians and Portugese.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, if as is likely, the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians was written during Ibn Maḍā''s retirement in Seville, it can be dated somewhere during the six years between 586/1190 and his death at the age of 76 in 592/1196. In the following section we will look more closely at the

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<sup>58</sup>Appendix A, pp. 181-82.

<sup>59</sup>A. Huici Miranda, "Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr," EL<sup>2</sup>, 1:165.



text and manuscripts which are the subject of this dissertation.

### B. The Manuscripts

The first manuscript said to be the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians was found by Dr. Shawqī Dayf in the Taymūriyya collection of the Egyptian National Library in Cairo (No. 375 nahw), then edited and published by him in 1947. This manuscript was of relatively late origin, having been copied in 1318/1900 by hand from an earlier manuscript. Dayf recognized that the relatively late copying of the work suggested that the original might still be in existence, but he was unable to find any trace of it.<sup>60</sup>

A second edition of the work was edited in 1979 by Dr. Muḥammad Ibrahim al-Bannā who had already prepared a study of Ibn Maḍā' for the press as a result of research he had done for a course in grammatical principles. However, shortly before the book was to go to press, al-Bannā was suddenly informed that a photocopy of a second manuscript (Film 30, Ms. 668) of the text existed at the Arab League's Institute for Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo.<sup>61</sup> He describes it as very old, almost contemporary with Ibn Maḍā'. The original from which the photocopy had been made is located in the Khalīliyya library in Jerusalem where its index

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<sup>60</sup>Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī, Kitāb al-radd `alā l-nuḥāt, ed. Shawqī Dayf, Cairo, 1947, pp. 13-14.

<sup>61</sup>Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī, Kitāb al-radd `alā l-nuḥāt, ed. M.I. al-Bannā, Cairo, 1979, pp. 3-4.

card states that it is "of the seventh century in the life of the author [sic]" and indicates that some phrases are missing due to worm holes. The indexer's justification for ascribing the undated manuscript to the seventh century is not indicated, so caution should be used with respect to accepting the seventh century as the actual date it was copied. In any event, the author died in the sixth, not the seventh, century. Al-Bannā describes it as written in a beautiful naskhī script on thirty-five folios with thirty lines to each side, bearing neither a cover nor a title page.

The Khalīliyya manuscript is almost certainly the original from which the Taymūriyya copy was made since the latter concludes with these words of the copyist, "Completed by the pen of the weak and humble Muḥammad Amīn, son of shaykh Muḥammad al-Danif al-Anṣārī, servant of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf and the sublime al-Aqṣā Mosque, may God give him, his two sons and all Muslims, forgiveness. Amen." Since the copyist is from Jerusalem, and the two texts begin and end identically, and the mistakes of the Khalīliyya ms. are repeated identically in the Taymūriyya ms. which adds other mistakes, one may reasonably conclude that the Taymūriyya ms. was copied directly from the Khalīliyya edition. During the years subsequent to the 1900 copying, further worm damage to the Khalīliyya ms. had occurred which necessitated al-Bannā's referring to the Taymūriyya

edition for some readings.<sup>62</sup>

Both manuscripts specifically attribute the authorship to Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Maḍā' al-Lakḥmī, not mentioning al-Qurṭubī. As Ḍayf points out, p. 16, even if the author had not been identified in the text, the historical references to Ibn Tūmart, his Almohad successors, the contemporary grammarian Abū l-Qāsim al-Suhaylī, his reference to himself as an Andalusian, and the unique grammatical positions which he takes which are later referred to and attributed to him by al-Suyūṭī and Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī are sufficient to establish the manuscript as written by Ibn Maḍā'.

### C. Determining the Title

Recent writers have asserted that Ibn Maḍā' wrote three distinct works on Arabic grammar.<sup>63</sup> In addition to Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-nuḥāt, they are said to be al-Mushriq fī l-naḥw "Illuminating Grammar"<sup>64</sup> and Tanzīh al-qur'ān

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 51-52. Al-Bannā, intro. to Kitāb al-radd, p. 3, accurately describes the Taymūriyya copy as faulty, full of mistakes and errors.

<sup>63</sup>Shawqī Ḍayf, introduction to Kitāb al-radd, p. 12, citing Suyūṭī; F. de la Granja, "Ibn Maḍā'," EI<sup>2</sup>, 3:855, citing Ḍayf and Suyūṭī; Muḥammad 'Id, Uṣūl al-naḥw al-'arabī, Cairo, 1973, pp. 40-41, who is clearly incorrect in saying that "all (his biographers) are in agreement on the number (of books he wrote - 3)." Al-Banna, intro. to Kitāb al-radd, does not address the issue.

<sup>64</sup>Ḥajjī Khalīfa, 2:1693, incorrectly titles it al-Mushriq fī iṣlāḥ al-mantiq, perhaps confusing it with Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq of Ibn al-Sikkīt.

`an mā lā yalīgu bil-bayān, "Exonerating the Qur'ān from those anthropomorphic elements not suitable for exposition." This assertion appears to be based on Ibn Maḍā'ʾ's biography in Suyūṭī's Buḥyat al-wuʿāt which provides the three titles 350 years after the death of Ibn Maḍā'ʾ. As will be shown there appears to be no evidence from the early sources that Ibn Maḍā'ʾ wrote three books on grammar. It is likely that Kitāb al-radd `alā al-nuḥāt is a subtitle added by Suyūṭī for al-Mushriq. In addition to writings on grammar, Ibn Maḍā'ʾ is credited with a biography entitled Barnāmij Ibn Maḍā'ʾ which Ibn al-Abbār says included obituary information on Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qaysī who died in Almeria in 540/1145.<sup>65</sup>

The only work by Ibn Maḍā'ʾ known to survive is the one here presented, but neither the Taymūriyya nor the Khalīliyya manuscript has an original title page or is titled in the text. How the manuscript in question came to be assigned the title Kitāb al-radd `alā l-nuḥāt is not addressed by either of the modern editors. We are thus left without a basis in fact for determining that this manuscript should bear the title it does. The problem of identifying the text at hand with one of the titles passed on by Ibn Maḍā'ʾ's subsequent biographers remains to be solved.

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<sup>65</sup>Ibn al-Abbār, al-Mu`jam, p. 142.

In order to resolve the problem we must address three questions: How many grammar works did Ibn Maḍā' actually write? What were their titles? What did they contain? Our earliest and most reliable source is Ibn Maḍā' himself who refers to only one other grammatical work in addition to the one he is writing, without giving either a title. In the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians, p. 182, he says, "I have begun a book (i.e. another book) that contains all the chapters of grammar. If God, Most High, allows me to finish it, then let the following chapters serve as a guide to others." This is clear evidence that he wrote at least two works; the first being the work that we have translated, and the other containing (at least) the three chapters immediately following this statement. The second work may have remained unfinished, but as we will show, it apparently contained more material than is included here.

The chapters mentioned by Ibn Maḍā' are Conflict with Respect to Government, Object-Fronting, and Grammatical Regents and the Subjunctive Verb. The final two chapters which we have called Abolishing Secondary and Tertiary Reasons and Useless Exercises in Morpho-Phonological Analogy, may also belong to the other work on grammar to which he refers, but in some ways they seem more properly included with the first third of the book with which they share a polemical style characterized by strong rhetoric and

a good measure of righteous indignation. We may assume that at least the three chapters mentioned above are shared between the two works.

The existence of at least two works is further supported by textual references to grammatical topics which al-Mushriq may have contained, but which are not found in the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians. In Manhaj al-sālik<sup>66</sup> written about one hundred years later, Abū Ḥayyān states that Ibn Maḍā', "the author of al-Mushriq," held the view that lā siyyamā "especially" should be considered an exceptive particle following the Kufan school, p. 177; that ka- "as, such as, like" should be considered a noun since it is equal in meaning to mithl "like," p. 232; and that in the context of the question of whether the active participle governs like a verb, al-Kisā'ī, Ibn Hishām and Ibn Maḍā' consider the active participle to govern if it has past meaning. Although active participle government is referred to in the text at hand in the chapter on object-fronting, p. 230, it is not as fully discussed as Abū Ḥayyān indicates. One must be cautious in assuming that these subjects were actually dealt with in al-Mushriq, since Abū Ḥayyān does not explicitly say so. They may have been part of an oral tradition passed down by students of Ibn Maḍā'. But Abū

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<sup>66</sup>Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, Manhaj al-sālik: Abū Ḥayyān's Commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik, ed. Sidney Glazer, New Haven, 1947.

Ḥayyān's testimony is strong evidence that al-Mushriq contained material which is additional to that in the book at hand. Taken together with with Ibn Maḍā's statement that he had begun another work, we may reasonably conclude that at least two separate works once existed.

However we still have not resolved the question of how many works Ibn Maḍā wrote since we have not addressed the matter of the title Tanzīh al-qur'ān 'an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān which is attributed to him by his early biographers. Moreover, we have not addressed the question of the title of the work translated here, which in this study, following established practice, we have called the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians. The two questions are intimately linked, as we shall see below, but first we must review Iḥsān 'Abbās's consideration of the matter.

Iḥsān 'Abbās believes that the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians is identical to al-Mushriq. In a footnoted commentary on the titles attributed to Ibn Maḍā, he offers the following opinion:

The early biographers...mentioned no works by Ibn Maḍā other than his two books al-Mushriq and Tanzīh al-Qur'ān 'an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān. It thus appears that the book edited by Dr. Shawqī Dayf and published under the title The Book in Refutation of the Grammarians is none other than al-Mushriq, indication of which is further given by its description in Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The phrase of the author of Jadhwat al-iqtibās (Ibn al-Qāḍī) may be the most indicative, insofar as he says, "He (Ibn Maḍā) wrote the book al-Mushriq fī l-naḥw wal-radd 'alā l-naḥwiyyīn in a medium-sized volume." It is clear that the phrase al-radd 'alā l-naḥwiyyīn is conjoined to the phrase fī l-naḥw. This title, which Ibn al-Qāḍī copied from

Ṣilat al-ṣila of Ibn al-Zubayr, is the same one which Suyūṭī copied from Ibn al-Zubayr and then arbitrarily rendered as "He composed al-Mushriq fī l-naḥw, al-Radd `alā l-naḥwiyyīn, Tanzīh al-Our'ān `an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān." (i.e. making it appear that there were three books).<sup>67</sup>

We do not agree with Iḥsān `Abbās that the book we have translated is identical to, and only, al-Mushriq, and therefore unrelated to Tanzīh. There are numerous reasons for this which include the following:

1. Ibn Maḍā' says that the text translated here contains part of a second book which seems more likely to be al-Mushriq.
2. The title Tanzīh al-Our'ān `an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān and the response to it written by Ibn Kharūf, discussed below, indicates that it was a polemical work on the same subject as that of the book we have translated.
3. As `Abbās points out, the phrase al-radd `alā l-naḥwiyyīn is actually the subtitle of al-Mushriq, whether included in Ibn al-Zubayr or added centuries later, we do not know. Iḥsān `Abbās is mistaken in attributing Suyūṭī's mention of al-radd `alā l-naḥwiyyīn to Ibn al-Zubayr. In fact, Suyūṭī is attributing the title to Ibn `Abd al-Malik, but since this title is not included in either of the manuscripts of Ibn `Abd al-Malik edited

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<sup>67</sup>Ibn `Abd al-Malik, al-Dhayl, p. 218, n.1.



by `Abbās, we can assume it is an addition by Suyūṭī two hundred years later, perhaps later copied by Ibn al-Qāḍī. None of the existing early biographies mentions Kitāb al-radd `alā l-naḥwīyyīn. Ibn al-Zubayr's biography of Ibn Maḍā' has not survived, so we can not verify statements attributed to it by Ibn al-Qāḍī three hundred years after the fact.<sup>68</sup>

The table on the following page, arranged in chronological order, indicates the biographers of Ibn Maḍā', their dates, and the titles of the books they attribute to him.

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<sup>68</sup>Only a portion of Ṣilat al-ṣila of Ibn al-Zubayr, edited by E. Levi-Provencal, Rabat, 1937, is known to exist. The biographies contained therein start with first names beginning with the letter `ayn and continue to the end of the alphabet.

| <u>Author and Date</u>   | <u>Titles Attributed to Ibn Maḍā'</u>   |
|--|---|
| Ibn Dihya d. 633/1234  | None mentioned in <u>al-Muṭrib</u> ; his biography of Ibn Maḍā' is lost, but it was seen by Ibn 'Abd al-Malik who may have made extensive use of it |
| al-Dabbī<br>Late 6th/12th, early<br>7th/13th Century,<br>after Ibn Maḍā''s death | None mentioned  |
| Ibn al-Zubayr<br>627/1230-708/1308   | (Biography of Ibn Maḍā' does not survive)   |
| Ibn 'Abd al-Malik<br>636/1237-702/1303   | <u>Al-Mushriq</u> (twice); <u>Tanzīh al-Qur'ān</u><br><u>'an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān</u>   |
| Abū Hayyān al-Gharnāṭī<br>654/1256-745/1344                                      | <u>Al-Mushriq</u>   |
| Ibn Farḥūn<br>d. 799/1397  | <u>Al-Mushriq fī (sic) tanzīh al-Qur'ān</u><br><u>'an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān</u> <sup>69</sup>  |
| Ibn al-Jazarī<br>752/1350-833/1429   | None mentioned  |
| Suyūṭī<br>849/1445-911/1505  | <u>Al-Mushriq fī l-naḥw, al-Radd</u><br><u>'alā l-naḥwiyyīn, Tanzīh al-Qur'ān</u><br><u>'an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān</u>                              |
| Ibn al-Qaḍī<br>960/1553-1025/1616  | <u>Al-Mushriq fī l-naḥw wal-radd</u><br><u>'alā l-naḥwiyyīn</u> "in a medium-sized volume"  |

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<sup>69</sup>The editor of Ibn Farḥūn selected the reading "fī" although in two of the manuscripts he edited the reading was "wa-" "and." Since Ibn Farḥūn copies the biography of Ibn Maḍā' verbatim from Ibn 'Abd al-Malik who also provides the reading "wa-," we feel certain that the reading in Ibn Farḥūn is an editing error, and that two books are intended not one. See al-Dībāj, p. 210, n.2.

An important source for information on the writings of Ibn Maḍā' would be the biographical dictionary of Ibn Diḥya, a younger contemporary and student of Ibn Maḍā', in which he gives information about his teachers. The work is not known to have survived, however, nor is it certain that it was written after Ibn Maḍā' had completed his grammatical writings.<sup>70</sup> Al-Ḍabbī fails to make any mention of books written by Ibn Maḍā' and the part of Ibn al-Zubayr's biographical dictionary containing Ibn Maḍā''s biography has not survived. Therefore, the first writer to whom we must turn for firm information on the titles attributable to Ibn Maḍā' is Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī who writes in the latter half of the 7th/13th century. Fortunately, he had seen Ibn Diḥya's biographical notice of Ibn Maḍā'; and from the rich detail he provides on Ibn Maḍā', who died about a century earlier, we may be justified in deducing that Ibn 'Abd al-Malik based much, if not all, of his biographical notice on that written by Ibn Diḥya.

Ibn 'Abd al-Malik states that Ibn Maḍā' wrote his views in "his previously mentioned book al-Mushriq and in Tanzīh al-qur'ān 'an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān." No mention is made of Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-nuḥāt in this earliest

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<sup>70</sup>We know of Ibn Diḥya's biographical dictionary of his teachers from a reference to it found in Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, App. A, p. 270. It is certainly not the same work as Ibn Diḥya's collection of Maghrebi poetry referred to in footnote 5 above.

biography. The mention of Tanzīh is important because Ibn `Abd al-Malik informs us that it aroused the anger of Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Kharūf<sup>71</sup> who responded with a work in refutation entitled Tanzīh a'immat al-naḥw `an mā nusiba ilayhim min al-khaṭa' wal-saḥw "Exonerating the leading grammarians from the error and negligence attributed to them." Ibn Kharūf's response makes it clear that Ibn Maḍā's Tanzīh was a defense of the Qur'ān against the grammarians who claimed it contained "elements not suitable for exposition," i.e. hidden meanings, elided, suppressed and implied words required by the theory of regency and determined by the process of faulty analogical reasoning.

#### D. Conclusion

Ibn Kharūf's response is not known to have survived, but its title confirms that in Tanzīh Ibn Maḍā' had accused the traditional grammarians of error and negligence in their use of Qur'ānic citations in grammatical argumentation. Since this is precisely the subject of the first third of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians, pp. 144-81, we are drawn to the conclusion that the book Dayf and al-Bannā

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<sup>71</sup>Ibn `Abd al-Malik, al-Dhayl wal-takmila, 5:319-323, says that Ibn Kharūf was reknowned for writing in refutation of others. In addition to Ibn Maḍā' his targets included Ibn Rushd, Ibn Ḥazm, al-Nisābūrī, Ibn al-Ṭarāwa, and al-Suḥaylī. Al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, says that Ibn Maḍā' responded sarcastically to Ibn Kharūf, whose name means son of a sheep, by saying, "We need not worry about butting rams, while we are being opposed by lambs."

call al-Radd 'alā l-nuḥāt and Ibn Maḍā' 's Tanzīh are in all likelihood one and the same. Although Dayf, p. 12, says that there is no indication in its title that Tanzīh concerns grammar, we take a different view, namely, that the phrase 'an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān "(anthropomorphic elements) not suitable for exposition" specifically refers to the ellipsis of words which are said to exist in an utterance to account for desinential inflection but are not spoken. Ibn Maḍā' repeatedly asserts that the grammarians thereby attributed the anthropomorphic quality of deficiency to God, denied the completeness of the Qur'ān and were in contravention of the Hadith that specifically enjoins man from hypothesizing about it. As pointed out earlier, the subsequent three chapters, which Ibn Maḍā' provides to illustrate how his proposal to eliminate regency from grammatical theory would apply, constitute a section of al-Mushriq, the book which Ibn Maḍā' says he was in the process of writing.

This conclusion runs contrary to that of Iḥsān 'Abbās<sup>72</sup> who says that al-Radd 'alā l-nuḥāt is actually al-Mushriq. His opinion is based firstly on the fact that the early biographers of Ibn Maḍā' attributed just two works to him. Secondly, although 'Abbās says that the phrase wal-radd 'alā l-naḥwīyyīn (or nuḥāt) is added by Suyūṭī, the latter

<sup>72</sup>Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, al-Dhayl wal-takmila, 1:218, n.1, translated above.

was actually misquoting Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, not Ibn al-Zubayr, when he added the subtitle. Ibn al-Qāḍī confirms that it is part of a combined title for a single work, in "a medium-sized volume." 'Abbās's conclusion fails to account for Tanzīh, overlooks the internal evidence in the work at hand that al-Mushriq is a separate book and cannot be reconciled with the evidence from Abū Ḥayyān that al-Mushriq may have contained additional grammatical material.

When Shawqī Ḍayf entitled the work he edited Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-nuḥāt, he based his decision on the title on the covering page of the Taymūriyya manuscript copied from the Jerusalem cataloguer's index page of the Khaltīliyya manuscript, reinforced by the title provided by Suyūṭī, not on a title that existed within the original manuscript itself. We feel safe in concluding that the title which Ḍayf made famous is not the one by which the work was known in Ibn Maḍā's lifetime.

Furthermore, we feel safe in concluding that Iḥsān 'Abbās is correct in attributing just two grammatical works to Ibn Maḍā, that al-Mushriq fī l-naḥw wal-radd 'alā l-nuḥāt denotes a single work and not two, but that he is incorrect in concluding that it is identical to the work presented here. This work is almost certainly Tanzīh al-Our'ān 'an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān with three, or perhaps more, chapters from al-Mushriq added to it.

The issue of regency and other features of traditional Arabic grammar which lead Ibn Maḍā' to challenge a grammatical theory that had stood for four hundred years will be explored in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Traditional Arabic Grammar Theory in the View of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians



## I. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians in the context of the purpose, theory and methodology of traditional Arabic grammar. In so doing, we will review the format briefly, before beginning an in-depth consideration of the author's reason for undertaking the work, the origins and purpose of Arabic grammar and the key theoretical and methodological concepts operating therein to which the author is opposed. The chapter will conclude with a review of the sections of the work which Ibn Maḍā' offered to demonstrate how his approach would lead to the simplification of grammar.

### A. Format and Approach

The Book in Refutation of the Grammarians begins with an opening dībāja (preamble), pp. 144-45,<sup>1</sup> in conformity with traditional Arabic risāla literature consisting of a brief basmala invoking the name of God, a paragraph attributing the work to Ibn Maḍā', a taṣliya invoking God's prayers and peace upon the prophet Muḥammad, Ibn Tūmart, the founder of the Almohad movement and his three successors as heads of the state. The preamble continues with a short

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<sup>1</sup>The page numbers indicated refer to the translation of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians which is part of this dissertation.

rhetical essay, pp. 145-51, embellished with Hadith and poetry detailing the reasons why grammarians should heed his remarks.

The technical portion then follows, organized into six discrete sections. In the first section, Ibn Maḍā' calls for the abolition of the concepts of regency (`amal) and suppletive insertion (tagdīr) in Arabic grammar, pp. 151-81. Subsumed under this section are the concepts of deletion (ḥadhf), suppression (iḍmār), implied words to which prepositional phrases are appended as adverbs of place (muta'allagāt), and implied latent pronouns (ḍamā'ir mustatira) in participles and adjectival derivatives. To justify his rejection of these traditional Arabic grammatical concepts, which had been adhered to by the overwhelming majority of the earlier grammarians, Ibn Maḍā' was compelled to reject the Islamic principle of consensus (ijmā') basing his position in part on a similar position adopted by Ibn Jinnī in al-Khaṣā'iṣ.<sup>2</sup> This section of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians will be discussed below as we establish the framework for an examination of traditional Arabic grammar theory, its concepts, goals and methodology.

The second and third technical sections are devoted to a single issue each: conflict with respect to government (tanāzu'), pp. 182-95, and object-fronting (ishtighāl),

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<sup>2</sup>Abū l-Fath `Uthmān Ibn Jinnī, al-Khaṣā'iṣ, ed. M. A. al-Najjār, Cairo, 1952, pp. 189-192.

pp. 197-236. The fourth section is divided into two subsections in which Ibn Maḍā' discusses the illative fā', pp. 236-46, and the wāw of accompaniment, pp. 246-52, which put the following verb in the subjunctive. These three sections will be discussed in the order of their appearance in the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians at the conclusion of this chapter after we have reviewed the purpose, theory and method of Arabic grammar. They were included in the book to demonstrate the simplifying effect of applying Zahirite principles to complicated sentence styles.

In the last two sections, Ibn Maḍā' returns to the more polemical style found at the beginning of the book. In section five, pp. 252-64, he calls for abolishing most of the secondary and all of the tertiary reasons grammarians offered to account for regency and desinential inflection.

The sixth section, pp. 264-69, issues a call for abolishing exercises in phonetic analogy which serve no practical or useful purpose, which the author feels should be dropped from the list of grammatical concerns. Since secondary and tertiary reasons as well as phonetic analogy are related to analogical reasoning, we will discuss sections five and six under that rubric in this chapter before closing with sections two, three and four.

Following the traditional method of Arabic grammatical writing, the text is liberally supported and illustrated with citations from the Qur'an, ancient Arabic poetry,

and hypothetical sentences involving Zayd and `Amr. The standard format of Arabic works of argumentation, in qīla...qāla "if it is said...the response should be," or a close variant thereof, is used throughout.

#### B. Reasons for Writing the Work

Ibn Maḍā' makes no secret of the motivation that compelled him to write this book. He could not accept the grammarians' practice of postulating words which existed at other than the surface level of the sentence to account for desinential inflection because this led them to assert that underlying words, serving as grammatical regents, had to be postulated in order to account for certain readings in the Qur'ān. This practice was equivalent to asserting that the Qur'ān is an incomplete work, a position which he as a Zahirite and a former senior official in the Almohad state was compelled to reject.

The essential points of Almohad doctrine as espoused by Ibn Tūmart emphasized the unity of God, the conception of God and the prophetic mission, predestination and belief in the Mahdi. The unity of God is the affirmation of a unique God and the denial of all those traits contrary to this idea such as polytheism, saints, idols and the assertion of incompleteness or imperfection in God. These ideas are summed up in a letter Ibn Tūmart wrote to the Almohad community in which he said:

Occupy yourselves with teaching tawḥīd, for it is

the basis of your religion, in order to deny attribution to the Creator of any comparison, polytheism, deficiencies, diminution, limits or directions. Do not assign a place to him, nor a direction, for He, Most High, exists before places and directions; whoever ascribes a place or direction to Him gives Him a corporal form; and whoever gives Him a corporal has made Him a creature and is like the worshipper of an idol.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Tūmart viewed God as eternal, all-powerful and most importantly in terms of Ibn Maḍā's views on grammar, incapable of imperfection, for "if one attributes to God imperfections, the existence of divine acts becomes impossible, for it is impossible for an imperfect being to be a Creator."<sup>4</sup> This is the aspect of God's divinity that Ibn Maḍā', pp. 162-63, is reacting to when he rejects any suggestion that the language of God as contained in the Qur'ān is deficient, and therefore in need of additional postulated elements to account for desinential inflection.

The postulating of grammatical regents involves another infraction of Ibn Tūmart's principles, namely the inadmissibility of ẓann, mere opinion or conjecture, as the basis for legal and theological judgements. Attacking those theologians and jurists who relied on ẓann, Ibn Tūmart declared that credal beliefs and legal practices must be based on objective facts. Malikite jurists and scholars had been content with taglīd, following the practice of

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<sup>3</sup>Cited in Rachīd Bourouiba, Ibn Tūmart, Algiers, 1974, p.86. For an excellent summary and discussion of Ibn Tūmart's ideas, see esp. pp.83-98.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p.87.

earlier scholars uncritically. Like Ibn Ḥazm one century earlier, Ibn Tūmart accepted that inevitably ẓann would be practiced in the practical application of legal principles, but he insisted that the principles themselves must have objective validity.<sup>5</sup> To admit ẓann as a principle in law, theology, or in grammar, is to open these fields to limitless conjecture. In Ibn Maḍā'ī's words, p. 174, "Conjecture is not knowledge because it can be countered with alternative conjecture." However, Ibn Maḍā'ī ameliorates this view on the following page, reflecting his acknowledgement of the inevitability of ẓann as a practice in human affairs, and its limited acceptability in practical matters such as language.

Should it be said that on this (basis) nothing can be established in language through conjecture, the response should be that that for which there is no need can be proven only through an absolute proof. However, that for which there is a need such as the words of language, will be accepted if they are related by reliable authorities, even if conjectured. The same is true of other things for which there is a need.

Although Ibn Maḍā'ī was a trained Malikite, his lifelong association with the Almohads had the effect of opening his mind to possible new directions in intellectual inquiry. This necessitated his rejecting another major principle of legal and theological practice, that of ijmā', the principle

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<sup>5</sup>W. Montgomery Watt, "Philosophy and theology under the Almohades," Actas del Primer Congreso de Estudios Arabes e Islamicos, Madrid, 1964, pp.101-03.

that scholarly consensus was sufficient to establish the binding nature of an opinion. To support his position, p. 162 ff., he cites the argument offered by Ibn Jinnī,<sup>6</sup> that the principle of consensus is only valid in grammar when all concerned parties have agreed that it is binding. Consensus in religious matters is sanctioned by the tradition of the Prophet stating that "My community does not agree in error." But this sanction does not extend to the empirical fields of grammar and the sciences. In these matters anyone who has an opinion is entitled to present it, and defend it as long as it provides a better basis for observation, analysis and determination.

By rejecting ẓann and ijmā', albeit in a qualified way, Ibn Maḍā' opened a realm of new possibilities for reanalyzing Arabic in a manner that had been only hinted at previously. In addition to mentioning his ideological motivation, we might again point out that Ibn Maḍā' began his professional career as an Arabic language teacher to the sons of 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī, for whom Berber, not Arabic, was the native language. It may be that the difficulty he encountered while teaching Arabic as a foreign language in the remote, isolated, Berber-speaking oasis of Tinmalal served as a practical motive compelling him to seek a simpler way of presenting the principles of Arabic grammar which

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<sup>6</sup>al-Khaṣā'is, 1:189-92.

he had learned as a student.

## II. Traditional Arabic Grammar Theory

In the section which follows we will review the principal concepts of Arabic grammar which served as the framework and context of grammatical discussion in the time of Ibn Maḍā', and which in the main have remained unchanged down to the present day. In order to comprehend the inner workings of Arabic grammar, it is necessary to distinguish between those elements that are theoretical and methodological and those elements which are the subject of grammatical theory, the nouns, verbs, adjectives and the like, which are fitted into this framework. The role of the grammarians was to extract the rules which governed constituent elements of Arabic language in their relationship to each other. The key concepts of Arabic grammatical theory have changed little since they were formulated in the 2nd/8th Century based, at least in part, on the understanding of Greek philosophy and grammar, and Sanskrit linguistic thought that existed at that time. Before beginning this discussion, however, it is useful to review the origin and purpose of Arabic grammar and the corpus on which it is based.

### A. Origin and Purpose

The science of Arabic grammar arose with the purpose of preserving the Arabic text of the Qur'ān against the



emergence of corrupted Arabic dialects.<sup>7</sup> Arab grammarians became deeply engaged in rationalist discussions to explain word endings. Although the Qur'ān was the principal focus of grammar study, it could not provide all the answers sought by the grammarians because of occasional instances when a particular reading did not seem to conform to otherwise general grammatical rules. For this reason, the grammarians began an intensive study of pre-Islamic poetry and made field trips to the desert to seek out Bedouin authorities on the classical language to resolve the inconsistencies they found.<sup>8</sup>

The procedural methodology for investigating and elaborating the principles of Arabic grammar thus followed a similar path to that of the elaboration of Islamic law. The original impetus was provided by a need to understand the Qur'ān in all its aspects, but where the Qur'ān was unable to provide an answer, recourse was made to sanctioned practice. In the case of Islamic law, practice is sanctioned by Hadith and Sunna, whereas in Arabic grammar, pre-Islamic poetry and authenticated classical usage were accepted

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<sup>7</sup>For example, cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, Cambridge, 1966, p. 342, but this view is not universally held. See C. H. M. Versteegh, "The origin of the term 'qiyās' in Arabic grammar," Journal of Arabic Linguistics, 4 (1980), pp.7-30.

<sup>8</sup>For a useful review of the methodology of Arab linguistic investigation see al-Zubayr Sa'dī, "Manāhij al-taḥarrīf 'inda qudamā' al-nuḥāt wal-lughawiyyīn al-'arab," al-Lisāniyyāt, 1:1 (1971), pp.39-49.

as a sanctioning authority. Moreover, in situations where neither the Qur'ān, Hadith, nor Sunna provided answers, the jurists made recourse to analogical reasoning and consensus, a development which the grammarians were soon to incorporate into their methodology. We will take a closer look at analogical reasoning later on in this chapter.

M. G. Carter emphasizes the origins of Arabic grammar in law and rejects the idea that Greek philosophy and grammar were its inspirational sources. He points out that many grammatical terms originate in law and legal concepts as demonstrated by the use of moral criteria, good, bad, etc., the use of analogical reasoning, and the use of other legal terminology such as mawḍi' "object," shart "condition," 'iwāḍ "in lieu of," 'illa "reason," and the like. As a major point of contact between the law and grammarians, he cites the fact that Sibawayh began his career as a law student. Moreover, decision-making in law necessitated a thorough understanding of legal texts which could only be achieved through an intimate knowledge of grammar.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Carter, "Les origines de la grammaire arabe," REI 40(1972), pp. 69-97. C. H. M. Versteegh has subsequently shown the indebtedness of Arabic grammar to Greek grammar in Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking, Leiden, 1977. In fact there is no need to take an exclusive position in favor of either Greek or Islamic legal sources as the sole source for Arabic grammar. As with Muslim scientists in other fields, the Arab grammarians used the knowledge at hand eclectically and synthetically making use of all available sources not religiously proscribed or otherwise suspect.

In this way, Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) and grammatical study (fiqh al-lugha) were fundamentally linked, jurisprudence seeking to ascertain and apply God's pre-ordained system of law in the universe, while Arabic grammar study sought to understand and explain God's pre-ordained systems in the Arabic language.

Hadith were not used as a source for supporting grammatical arguments for several reasons. Because they were concerned with meaning rather than formal eloquence, the Hadith were not seen as a relevant source. Moreover, so many of the Hadith were collected from non-native speakers of Arabic that they were unreliable as linguistic citations of correct usage, and whereas the content of a Hadith might be one, the form of its relation often varied according to the relater. Finally, many of the Hadith were considered to be of questionable attribution to Muḥammad and were unreliable as a linguistic authority for that reason.<sup>10</sup>

Classical Arabic poetry was an ideal medium for preserving traditional usage because of its rather rigid rhyme and meter scheme, and its rhetorical purpose. On the other hand, the poetic license employed by the poets, when either meter or rhyme dictated, led to occasional conflicting readings of otherwise equivalent grammatical structures. The grammarians did not accept all poetry, however. The

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<sup>10</sup>Muḥammad `Id, al-Riwāya wal-istishhād bil-lugha, Cairo, 1976, pp. 118, 131 ff.

Jāhiliyya poets were preferred along with many of those who lived until about the close of the Second Century of Islam: Dhū l-Rumma (d. 117/735), Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783), Ibn Harma (d. 176/792), and Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa (d. 182/798). The date of production was more important than quality, and acceptability was also based on a preference for Bedouin poetry over that of city dwellers. Finally, spontaneous poetry was preferred over that which had been carefully crafted and polished.<sup>11</sup>

#### B. Theoretical Concepts and Methodology

To explain the corpus they were investigating, the grammarians developed a number of key theoretical concepts including i`rāb "desinential inflection," `amal "governance" or "regency," ta`līq "dependency," idmār "suppression," ḥadhf "deletion/ellipsis," and a unique system for classifying pronouns. To explain the system they developed they utilized a rationalistic methodology which included qiyās "analogy/-analogical reasoning," tagdīr "suppletive insertion," ta`līl "rational justification" and `ilal "reasons."

Beginning with Sībawayh, the theoretical grammatical concepts referred to above appear freely used in the literature, assuming a familiarity with them on the part of the reader, but they are not rigorously defined. This fact, coupled with certain dialectical variations that existed in the

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-36.

earliest Classical Arabic, and the fact that even the largest catalog of authentic and acceptable Qur'ānic and poetic citations could not circumscribe the totality of possible grammatical utterances, gave the grammarians free rein to exercise their imaginations, challenge their rivals, and offer a host of equally valid counter-analyses and theories.

In Versteegh's view, Sibawayh, his predecessors and successors took an explanatory, as opposed to a theoretical, approach to their language. In their attempt to put order into the immense linguistic corpus that Arabic poetry and the Qur'ān provided they made recourse to a limited number of fundamental notions "which very often were not defined at all, or defined in a descriptive way."<sup>12</sup>

In this sense, the Arab grammarians were not linguists, but grammarians, pure and simple.<sup>13</sup> Arabic grammatical methodology rarely made reference to any language other than Arabic. When other languages are referred to it is generally in the context of explaining the origin of a loan word in Arabic. Sidney Glazer addresses this point in a brief but important article on a passage from Abū Ḥayyān's commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik.

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<sup>12</sup>Versteegh, Greek Elements, pp. 10-11.

<sup>13</sup>On this point, cf. Ladislav Drozdik, "Mediaeval Arabic grammar and its influence on linguistic theory and terminology in contemporary Arab science," Journal of Maltese Studies, 5(1968), p. 71.

The grammarians...were generally dissatisfied with merely assembling clusters of speech data and inferentially drawing rules; they had to point out reasons and justifications for existence, to demonstrate the power of Allah therein. Proceeding from forms of generally acknowledged provability, they evolved through deduction and analogy an inflexible norm of linguistic expression.

Initially, the rationalistic penetration of grammar played a modest, but never inconspicuous role. But from the Baghdadian period on...all scruples and intellectual probity were suppressed in the effort to build up an iron-clad, comprehensive schema. Irregular formations, clear-cut exceptions to general rules, and other inconveniences, were either blandly ignored, labelled and then ruled out as "non-classical," or forced savagely by remote and weird analogies into the system.<sup>14</sup>

This then explains why the field of grammar study witnessed no attempt to reconcile the principles it used as it grew, but continued to undergo further elaboration with no questioning of the underlying rigor of the principles themselves. This may also explain, in part at least, why the philosophers, especially the logicians, had such a low opinion of many of the grammarians. Al-Rāzī (d. 313/925), for example, rejected that body of people who

consider knowledge and wisdom/philosophy (ḥikma) to be nothing more than grammar, poetry, eloquent classical speech (faṣāḥa), and rhetoric, and who do not know that the philosophers (ḥukamā') do not consider any one of these to be ḥikma, nor the specialist in them to be a philosopher. For them, the philosopher is one who has knowledge of the principles of proof and its laws, one who has gained a knowledge of the mathematical, natural and divine sciences in the maximum

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<sup>14</sup>Sidney Glazer, "A noteworthy passage from an Arab grammatical text," Journal of American Oriental Society, 62 (1942), pp. 106.

amount achievable by man.<sup>15</sup>

Although the grammarians did not blithely succumb to this rejection and assessment,<sup>16</sup> it is fair to say that the grammarians' original purpose had not been to develop a pure grammatical theory, but to provide an adequate methodology for explaining the Arabic corpus in terms of desinential inflection.<sup>17</sup>

### 1. Desinential Inflection

The primary basis for determining Arabic grammatical categories is the quality of the final vowel, or its absence, at the end of a word.<sup>18</sup> Since Arabic has only three vowels, /a/, /i/ and /u/, a total of four possibilities exist when the absence of a vowel is included as a basis for classi-

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<sup>15</sup>From al-Tibb al-rūḥānī, p. 42. Quoted in Gerhard Endress, "The debate between Arabic grammar and Greek logic in classical Islamic thought," Journal for the History of Arabic Science, 1:2 (November 1977), p. 346.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 345ff.

<sup>17</sup>Drozdk, "Medieval Arabic grammar," p. 76ff., presents an interesting study of how this lack of clearly defined notions and terms, in the Western sense, confronts Egyptian translators of Western works on Arabic grammar with serious terminology problems when they try to translate English terminology for Arabic grammatical phenomena back into Arabic.

<sup>18</sup>In the case of indefinite nouns having nunation, the final /n/ is ignored even though it is a consonant. The category of case to which it is assigned is determined by the vowel preceding the /n/. In the sound masculine plural suffix -ūna/-īna, the initial vowel of the suffix is considered the case marker. Throughout this study the term "final vowel" includes nunated words, the case vowel of the sound masculine plural as well as those which are vowel-final.

fication.<sup>19</sup> These four possibilities are expanded to eight categories according to whether the words so ending are declinable or indeclinable.<sup>20</sup> The process of analyzing grammatical categories according to this system is known as i`rāb "desinential inflection."<sup>21</sup>

The earliest extant discussion of i`rāb in Arabic grammatical writings is found in Chapter Two of al-Kitāb entitled the Chapter of Arabic Word Endings. Sibawayh proposes the eight categories mentioned above and notes that they may be reduced to four types: words ending in /a/ (manṣūb), be they accusative/subjunctive or indeclinable; words ending in /i/ (majrūr), be they genitive or indeclinable;

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<sup>19</sup>Henri Fleisch points out how this obsession with surface facts like word endings obscured the grammatical view, led to neglect of functional analysis, and made it virtually impossible for the grammarians to introduce new material into the corpus for analysis. "Par exemple, le marfū` est le mot qui reçoit -u, nom ou verbe; le manṣūb le mot qui reçoit -a, nom ou verbe. Cet i`rāb est ainsi appliqué matériellement au nom et au verbe, sans partir des fonctions où il aurait fallu nécessairement distinguer nom et verbe. Dans les verbes yaf`ul-u (sic) est un indicatif, yaf`ul-a (sic) un subjonctif. Dans les noms -u détermine le cas-sujet -a le cas-régime (pour la déclinaison à 3 cas)." "Esquisse d'un historique de la grammaire arabe," Arabica, 4:1 (January 1957), p. 20.

<sup>20</sup>Strictly speaking, one should use the terms "inflectable" versus "non-inflectable" words since the term declension is restricted to nouns, pronouns and adjectives in Western grammar. However in this study we will follow the well-established practice in English writings about Arabic of translating mabnī as indeclinable.

<sup>21</sup>Versteegh, Greek Elements, pp. 11-12, believes that the very term i`rāb, which literally means to render something Arabic, is taken from the equivalent term in Greek grammar which means to render an utterance Greek.



words ending in /u/ (marfu`), be they nominative/indicative or indeclinable; and words ending with a consonant (majzu`m), be they jussive or indeclinable.<sup>22</sup> The difference between declinable and indeclinable words is that the first are subject to the action of a grammatical regent (`amil) while the latter are not. In this brief and sweeping statement Sībawayh establishes declinable nouns and imperfect verbs as constituting a single analytical class.<sup>23</sup> At the same time he introduces the notion of grammatical regents, but without defining them beyond saying that "every type of regent has an accompanying type of vowel which is the vowel

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<sup>22</sup>The unfortunate result of this fundamental decision to analyze Arabic in terms of vowel endings was to create a system whereby nouns and verbs were considered identical in terms of the analytical goal. The term marfu` is used to designate nominative nouns and imperfect indicative verbs as constituting a single analytical category; likewise, the term mansu`b is used to designate accusative nouns and imperfect subjunctive verbs in the same manner.

<sup>23</sup>For Sībawayh, 1:14, the essential difference between a noun and an imperfect verb is that the imperfect verb may not be preceded by the particle inna. The close relationship between the imperfect verb and the noun is best demonstrated by the active participle of the verb, which has morphological patterns identical with the noun, but shares the meaning of the verb.

of inflection."<sup>24</sup>

Indeclinable words are defined by Sibawayh as "indeclinable nouns, which for them are neither nouns nor verbs, which are for the purpose of meaning only, such as the future particle sawfa and the particle qad; verbs other than the imperfect, and the particles which are neither verbs nor nouns, and for the purpose of meaning only."<sup>25</sup>

Reflecting the standard conservative view of a twentieth century Arab grammarian, 'Abbās Ḥasan defines i'rāb as "the change which occurs in markers at the ends of words, caused by a change in the regents which govern them, which change is required by each regent."<sup>26</sup> In this view, the

<sup>24</sup>Sibawayh, al-Kitāb, 1:13. In an important article comparing Sibawayh's method to Immediate Constituent Analysis, M.G. Carter proposes the term "grammatical effect" for 'amal, "operator" for 'amil and "that which is operated on" for ma'mūl fihi, following J. Weiss's argument that 'amal in Arabic has nothing to do with the Latin idea of governance. M.G. Carter, "An Arab Grammarian of the Eighth Century A.D.," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 93 (1973), pp.146-157. However, in this study the traditional terms of regent and regency will be adhered to.

<sup>25</sup>Sibawayh, 1:15. Examples of indeclinable words ending in /a/ are haytha, ayna "where" and kayfa "how;" ending in /i/ are ulā'i "these," hadhāri "beware of" and badādi "a military order to troops to engage an opponent of similar rank or function;" ending in /u/ are haythu "where," qablu "previously" and ba'du "subsequently;" and ending consonant-final are words such as man "who," kam "how many/much," qat "only" and idh "since." Carter, "An Arab grammarian," p.153, n.49, considers Sibawayh's use of the word ma'nā "meaning" in the definition of a particle to be equivalent to "function."

<sup>26</sup>'Abbās Ḥasan, al-Nahw al-wāfi, 1:74. I'rāb also has the meaning of parsing.

words subject to i`rāb are of three types: the type called mu`rab munṣarif, also called mutamakkin amkan, roughly "fully inflected," applies to nouns commonly known as triptotes, which have distinctive nominative, genitive and accusative case endings; the type called mu`rab ghayr al-munṣarif, or mutamakkin, roughly "partially inflected," which takes only the nominative and oblique (combined genitive and accusative) endings, applies to nouns commonly known as diptotes; and the words known as mabnī "indeclinable," also called ghayr mutamakkin, such as the demonstrative pronoun hā'ulā'i "those" the end of which never changes.<sup>27</sup>

## 2. Regency

As we have seen above, the purpose of i`rāb is to account for the change in word endings brought about by the regent (`āmil). There is general agreement among modern Arab grammarians that the theory of regency is the most important theory in Arabic grammar.<sup>28</sup> The theory states that every final vowel, in declinable words, is the result of an expressible (lafzī) or abstract (ma`nawī) regent which must precede the declined word. `Abbās Ḥasan defines the regent as "that which affects a word in such a way

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>28</sup>Tahā Ḥusayn, "Kitāb al-radd `alā l-nuḥāt l-Ibn Maḍā'," MMLA, 7(1953), p. 76. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, Iḥyā' al-naḥw, Cairo, 1937, p. 23. Makdisi, Rise of Colleges, pp. 268-70, relates evidence that the concept of government in medieval Latin grammar study was borrowed from Arabic grammar theory.

that it produces an inflection marker indicating a particular grammatical function (ma`nā), such as serving as the agent or inchoate subject, serving as the object, and the like. There is no difference whether the regent is overt (ẓāhir) or implied (magaddar)."<sup>29</sup>

The source of the theory of regency is found in the scholastic philosophers (mutakallimūn). Word endings are viewed as effects, every one of which must have a cause which is the creator of the effect. The scholastics did not accept that man, as speaker, could be responsible for inflected word endings since man is not a free agent. They insisted that an obligatory cause, or regent, must exist. However, since two regents could not govern a single word, lest they result in conflicting effects occupying a single location, the scholastics postulated that each governed word must have a regent solely responsible for it, if not shown on the surface of the sentence, then implied

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<sup>29</sup>al-Nahw al-wāfi, 1:75. Cf. `Afīf Dimashqiyya, Tajdīd al-nahw al-`arabi, Beirut, 1976, pp. 157-165.

in the underlying structure of the sentence.<sup>30</sup>

The Mu'tazilites took an opposite course while still adhering to the doctrine of causality by arguing that words could not cause change in word endings. They concluded that man must be responsible for i'rāb. Ibn Jinnī took this position. In his view, the fact that regents and governed words occurred together simply meant that endings are sometimes accompanied by visible, other times non-visible, signs.<sup>31</sup> Ibn Maḍā'ī, p. 155, took a similar position with respect to the speaker's responsibility for linguistic forms with the difference that while such acts may be attributable to man, ultimately they are the work of God.

Ibn Maḍā'ī wrote the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians with the basic purpose of refuting the theory of the regency. It is useful at this point to take an in-depth look at what the term regent came to include, and the lengths to which the grammarians were prepared to go to explain the

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<sup>30</sup>Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, Iḥyā', pp. 31-32. If it appears that two regents are operating on a single word, it may be argued that one is operating on the word, while the other is operating on the syntactic location of the word. In the sentence, bi-ḥasbika ḥādha "This is sufficient for you," the preposition bi- governs ḥasbika, in the genitive case, but since it is in the position of a fronted predicate of a nominal sentence, it is also governed by the inchoate subject in the nominative case as are all predicates of nominal sentences. Ibid., p. 24. The apparent governance of a single subject by two regents is the origin of the problem of conflict with respect to government (tanāzu') which will be discussed below.

<sup>31</sup>Versteegh, Greek Elements, p. 151.

word endings they found in their corpus and to justify the concept that every inflected word required a regent. An excellent modern summary of the regent is found in Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā's Ihyā' al-naḥw, the Revival of Grammar. His summary serves as the basis for the following discussion.

### 3. The Regent

The primary regent is the verb. Normally the regent must precede the word on which it operates.<sup>32</sup> The verb governs nouns only (pronouns are included) which it puts in the nominative or accusative case. It can govern only one noun in the nominative case, but may govern more than one noun in the accusative case, and it can be a regent of the nominative and the accusative at the same time. The more "verb-like" a verb is, the more powerful it is as a regent. Thus the static (jāmid) verb is a weak regent which cannot operate on a word preceding it, and may not govern except under certain conditions which limit its regency, as with the verbs of praise and blame ni'ma "Oh! How good is..." and bi'sa "Oh! How bad is...." The verb of wonderment is so weak that it governs only a latent (mustatir) pronoun. Likewise, the incomplete (nāgiṣ) verb has limited regency. It operates only on the inchoate subject and

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<sup>32</sup>The term verbal regent includes inflectable verbs, active and passive participles, and their derivative adjectives, the verbal noun, the interjectional nouns having verbal force (ism al-fi'l), and the gerundial noun (ism al-maṣḍar). Budayr M. Ḥamid, Lughat al-i'rāb, Cairo, 1964(?), 1:365.

predicate of a nominal sentence, and may be subject to certain conditions.<sup>33</sup>

The noun may also be a regent on the condition that it resemble a verb in some way or contain a feature which qualifies it to function as a verb. This is the case with respect to the active participle, the verbal noun and the passive participle. Nouns are stronger regents when they are preceded by certain particles such as the interrogative and negative particles, or when they function as a syndetic relative clause (ṣila) with the definite article. Nouns are weaker regents when something occurs to make them less like a verb, as when they take on the comparative form accompanied by min "than", then governing only a latent pronoun, not a surface pronoun.<sup>34</sup> When the verbal noun is a diminutive, it cannot act as a regent at all. The noun as regent operates on nouns and verbs, making nouns nominative and accusative, but making verbs jussive only, never subjunctive.<sup>35</sup>

Particles may govern in two ways: as primary regents not related to verbs; or, in relationship to verbs which is the less likely in practice. Particles operate both

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<sup>33</sup>Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, Iḥyā', pp. 24-25.

<sup>34</sup>Although it could certainly be argued to the contrary that the comparative form is more like a verb, not less like it, since it shares the canonical shape of the fourth form of the verb, af'ala.

<sup>35</sup>Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, Iḥyā', pp. 24-25.

on nouns, which they render nominative, genitive and accusative, and verbs, which they render subjunctive and jussive. Conditional particles render two verbs jussive. If a particle acts in a verb-like manner its regency is in direct proportion to the degree to which it is like a verb, in form and meaning. For example, inna governs because it reinforces (ta'kid), which activity it shares with the verb semantically, and because it has the form of three consonants as do verbs. When the particle is weak, it governs less, because it is less like a verb.<sup>36</sup>

A further condition on the governance of particles is that they operate only if they are associated with a single grammatical category. The negative particles lam and lan are regents of the imperfect verb because they only associate with it. The particle gad is not a regent because it may be used with the perfect and the imperfect. The interrogative particle hal does not govern because it may precede either a noun or a verb. Particles may govern one way in one position, and differently in a second position as does la, sometimes governing like laysa in the nominative, other times governing like inna in the

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 25-26.



accusative.<sup>37</sup>

Introducing the concept of varying degrees of strength in the regent leads to further complications and arbitrariness in the theory. For example, as a general rule the regent precedes the governed word, but if it is "strong," it can govern words before and after it. If it is weak, the regent must precede the word it governs. Another basic property of the regent is that it should not be separated from the word it governs. However, because the verb is a strong regent it may be separated, and so may the noun when it is acting like a verb. The particle must never be separated from the word it governs. Regents acting on verbs are weaker than regents acting on nouns. When the conditions for regents acting on nouns prevail, regency must occur. But regents which normally act on verbs may in fact not govern at all, even though all of the specified conditions prevail, as is sometimes the case with conditional particles, the wāw of accompaniment and the illative fā'.<sup>38</sup>

A word may be a regent and governed at the same time,

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-27. The negative particle lā is but one particle which does not conform to this definition. It is associated with nouns and verbs, governing or not governing as the case may be. It may precede the imperfect form of the verb, in which case the verb is unchanged, remaining in the indicative. When it precedes the negative imperative form of the verb, the verb is jussive. When it precedes nouns, both nominative and accusative forms of the noun occur in association with it.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

but two words may not mutually govern each other. Part of a word may not be a regent acting on another part.<sup>39</sup> A regent may encounter something which overrides its regency, or takes its place. It may encounter something which suspends its regency, rendering it a regent over the syntactic position only, but having no manifest effect on the declension of the word it governs. Thus, we can add to the definition of the regent that it can occur in one of three ways: governing; suspended; or cancelled.<sup>40</sup>

Each group of regents operating similarly are said to constitute a family, such as the family of inna or the family of kāna. The member of the family which is the most common or has the broadest application is known as the "matriarch" (umm). The matriarch has powers that no other member of the family has. Kāna is the matriarch of the incomplete verbs. Inna is the matriarch of the family of particles that make first words accusative and

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<sup>39</sup>The stipulation that part of a word may not operate on another part of the same word leads to the necessity of defining what constitutes a word in Arabic, a task beyond the scope of this work. For as we shall see below in the discussion of pronouns in Arabic, in the verb fa'alū "they did," the plural marker morpheme -ū is considered to be governed in the nominative case by the verb fa'al(a). Although fa'alū is written as one word in Arabic, it is considered to be two words for purposes of analyzing desinential inflection. Elsewhere, as will be shown, it appears that one criterion for determining what constitutes a word in Arabic is its written form. For a brief discussion of this issue see Beeston, The Arabic Language Today, London, 1970, p.30 ff.

<sup>40</sup>Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, Iḥyā', pp. 26-27.

second words nominative, even if the meaning of other members of its family are quite different, since it is similarity of government, not semantic considerations, that defines the family and determines its members. <sup>41</sup>

a. Expressible Regents

As we have indicated earlier, regents may be either expressible (lafẓī) or abstract (ma'nawī). An expressible regent is a word, which is usually present in the sentence, but if absent it is implied. As the Arabic term lafẓī indicates, the implicit expressible regent must be capable of verbalization.

b. Abstract Regents

The abstract regent, on the other hand, is one which has no potential for verbalization. It is not a noun, verb or particle, but a concept that carries governing force. The main abstract regent is that of initiality (ibtidā') in nominal sentences. It is initiality that governs the inchoate subject in the nominative case.

The need for postulating abstract regents came about as a result of the basic distinction Arab grammarians made between nominal (ismī) and verbal (fi'lī) sentences. For if the regent must precede the governed word, as the grammarians claimed, then only an abstract regent could account for

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-28.

the nominative case in the inchoate subject, since no verbal regent precedes it.<sup>42</sup>

The distinction between nominal and verbal sentences in traditional Arabic grammatical theory is based solely on whether or not the noun subject of the sentence heads the sentence, regardless of whether the sentence contains a following verb or is equational i.e., lacking a surface form of the verb kāna "to be."

Consider the following three sentences:

1. qāma zaydun "Zayd stood up." (Verbal)
2. zaydun qāma "Zayd stood up." (Nominal)
3. zaydun karīmun "Zayd is generous." (Nominal)

In sentence 1. the verb qāma is an expressed regent which puts the following noun, zaydun, in the nominative case. The agent (fā'il) of the verb in this sentence is zaydun. However, in sentence 2. the noun zaydun, which again is nominative, can not be so by virtue of the verb this time, because the verb does not precede it. Therefore, the grammarians took the position that zaydun was nominative because of its initial position in the sentence. Moreover, in sentence 2. zaydun can not be the agent of the verb, according to traditional theory, since the verb as regent

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<sup>42</sup>Abstract regents govern only the nominative/indicative. For Sibawayh, the verb is governed in the indicative because it exists in a place where a noun could occur (!), regardless of whether the noun in that location be nominative, genitive or accusative. Sibawayh 3:9-10.

must govern a following agent. Agents are not permitted to precede verbs. The grammarians held the view that the verb indicated tense and act only, but not the subject actor. The notion of agreement markers did not exist. The subject actor was postulated as implied and required by the verb in the same way that a transitive verb requires a direct object. Following this line of reasoning, the Arab grammarians hypothesized an implicit pronoun huwa "he" following the verb and governed by it in the nominative case. Therefore, the underlying structure of sentence 2. is said to be:

zaydun qāma (huwa) "Zayd stood up (he)."

The predicate of sentence 3., karīmun "generous," is governed in the nominative case by the inchoate subject which, like the verb, is also an expressible regent.<sup>43</sup>

#### 4. Deletion, Suppression and Suppletive Insertion

Three additional concepts essential to i'rāb are those of ḥadhf "deletion" or "ellipsis," iḍmār "suppression,"

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<sup>43</sup>For a discussion of initiality as the basis for the nominative case in the inchoate subject, see Sibawayh, 2:144-46. Had the concept of abstract regents developed further it might have had a simplifying effect on Arabic grammar theory. For example, predicates could have been considered nominative by virtue of predication, and adverbs accusative by virtue of adverbiality, rather than because of some forced attachment to a preceding verbal regent. This is in essence what Ibn Maḍā' has in mind when he supports the primary regents. On the difficulties related to determining what governs adverbs, see Sibawayh, 1:404, n.1. 'Abbās Ḥasan takes the view that the predicate is nominative because of the abstract regent of predication. al-Nahw al-wāfi, 1:277.

which Ibn Maḏā' considers to be a subcategory of deletion, and taqdīr "suppletive insertion." Deletion is applicable to phonological, morphological and syntactic elements, but in this treatise Ibn Maḏā' objects primarily to the deletion of syntactic regents. A suppressed element (mudmar) is any element implied in a syntactic structure to account for an otherwise unexplainable inflection marker in the surface structure.<sup>44</sup>

Ibn Maḏā', pp. 156-60, defines three types of deletion commonly in use among the grammarians: 1) deletion of a word which is essential to the sentence or utterance, but which is deleted for succinctness or because the person being addressed knows it; 2) deletion of hypothetical superfluous words for which there is no evidence but the need to satisfy the arbitrary rules of the grammarians; and 3) deletion of hypothetical words, which when shown on the surface of the sentence, actually result in the sentence having a meaning which is different from that originally intended.

The first type of deletion is exemplified by Ibn Maḏā' with two citations from the Qur'ān. An English example

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<sup>44</sup>Idmār may also be translated as "ellipsis." The scant difference between ḥadhf and idmār is indicated by a passage in Sibawayh, 3:8, referring to the lām of the third person imperative which is sometimes deleted in poetry, although the verb it would have introduced remains subjunctive. He says, "Know that this lām may be deleted (qad yajūzu ḥadhfuhā) in poetry and it will govern as a (regent) suppressed (wa-ta'malu mudmaratan)."

of this type of deletion would be omitting the word "book" in the response "His!" to the question "Whose book is this?"

The second type of deletion is exemplified for Ibn Maḍā' in the traditional analysis of a sentence in the object-fronting (ishtighāl) style such as:

a zaydan ɗarabtahu

"Zayd; did you hit him?"

which the grammarians say has the underlying form of:

a (ɗarabta) zaydan ɗarabtahu

"(Did you hit) Zayd; you hit him?"

Ibn Maḍā' considers postulating the verb ɗarabta preceding Zayd in the second example to be unnecessary and incorrect since it results in what he considers an ungrammatical sentence.

To illustrate the third type of deletion, Ibn Maḍā' uses examples of the Arabic vocative where the proper noun following the vocative particle yā "Oh!" is governed in the accusative. Traditionally the accusative case in this instance is explained by postulating a suppressed verb preceding the vocative noun equivalent to ad`u or unādī, both meaning "I call," or urīdu "I want." In these cases, he says, the hypothesized underlying form actually changes the meaning of the original utterance, for example, from "Oh! Abdallah" to "I call Abdallah." Ibn Maḍā' gives numerous other examples of unfounded deletion including the illative fā' and the wāw of accompaniment. The process of hypothe-

sizing or postulating these deleted and suppressed words is known as tagdīr "suppletive insertion." Ramzi Baalbaki describes tagdīr as the "assumption of the virtual occurrence of parts of the utterance, mainly the operants or 'awāmil, believed...to have been elided." Tagdīr may or may not be employed depending on the inflectional ending being justified. For example, consider the following two conjoined sentences, one of which is verbal and the other nominal:

ra'aytu zaydan wa-'amran kallamtuhu

"I saw Zayd; and Amr, I spoke to him."

In the above example 'amran is accusative, hence tagdīr must be employed, since no overt regent precedes it. The underlying sentence is said to read as follows:

ra'aytu zaydan wa-(kallamtu) 'amran kallamtuhu

"I saw Zayd; and (I spoke to) Amr; I spoke to him."<sup>45</sup>

However, in the second clause of this example, Sibawayh also permits the fronted object 'amran to be read in the nominative case as 'amrun. Tagdīr is not then required to parse the sentence, for 'amrun is said to be nominative due to the abstract regent of inchoateness. Sibawayh considered inchoateness to be the basic state of the noun.<sup>46</sup>

Baalbaki states that Sibawayh's employment of tagdīr

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<sup>45</sup>Baalbaki, "Some aspects of harmony and hierarchy in Sibawayhi's grammatical analysis," Journal of Arabic Linguistics, 2 (1979), p. 7.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-10.



in this fashion was used for two purposes: to reveal an underlying harmony in Arabic sentence construction; or alternately, to provide regents to account for inflectional endings. He concludes that, "Such limitation on the capacity of tagdīr is used by Sībawayh chiefly as an aid to understand the sentence structure of the language, and not as an externally imposed prerequisite, on the mould of which attested linguistic material is to be shaped."<sup>47</sup>

Ibn Maḍā', taking the opposite view, rejects ḥadhf, iḍmār and tagdīr not only because he feels they do not add to one's understanding of what has been said, but because the addition of hypothetically deleted words to the Qur'ān constitutes a sinful act.

##### 5. Appendancy

Another area of grammar said to contain suppressed words is in the nominal sentence containing a prepositional phrase as the predicate, or when the prepositional phrase functions as a syndetic relative clause (ṣila), adjective (ṣifa) or circumstantial (ḥāl) when no surface form of the verb ka-na "to be" or a similar verb expressing presence

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 11. Baalbaki's conclusion that Sībawayh was thus a descriptive rather than a prescriptive grammarian on this basis will not receive unanimous acceptance. Ibn Maḍā''s objections to tagdīr bear no relationship to the anachronistic argument over descriptive versus prescriptive grammar, however, for his concern is with the speculative rationalistic nature of the process which has turned Arabic grammatical discourse into a chaos of unconvincing argumentation.

is expressed. The grammarians postulated an underlying participle, said to be qā'imun "existing or standing", kā'inun "existing," or mustaqirrun "located." The prepositional phrase is considered to be muta'alliq "dependent upon" or "appendant" to the participle. The term ta'lliq "dependency" or "appendancy" is apparently an Arabic loan translation from Greek grammatical terminology where the verb artâshai "to be dependent upon" is used in the same sense.<sup>48</sup>

Thus, the sentence:

zaydun fī d-dār

"Zayd is in the house."

is analyzed as having the underlying structure:

zaydun (qā'imun) fī d-dār

"Zayd is in the house."

Clearly, adding the allegedly suppressed qā'imun provides no explanatory power, and has not enhanced the meaning the sentence carries. In his words, p. 171 ff., "Without doubt, this is a complete sentence consisting of two nouns indicating two meanings with a relationship between the two indicated by the preposition fī 'in.' There is no need for us to go beyond that." Ibn Maḍā' does not object to the concept of ta'lliq. Indeed, he proposes it be substituted for regency when describing the syntactic relationship

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<sup>48</sup>Versteegh, Greek Elements, p. 70. We will use the translation "appendancy" which seems more appropriate for the term ta'lliq than "dependency."

between agents, objects and verbs in the tanāzu` style. However, he objects to postulating hidden words governing prepositional phrases because the criteria of comprehensibility and grammaticality are met without any need for suppletive insertion.

## 6. The Arabic Pronoun

In order to follow Ibn Maḍā's arguments concerning regency, we must examine the definition of the Arabic pronoun in traditional grammar, an exhaustive discussion of which is provided by `Abbās Ḥasan.<sup>49</sup> The purpose of the pronoun is to indicate first, second or third person, whether it be singular, dual or plural, and whether it be masculine or feminine. Some pronouns do this independently, as a single word, whereas others require additional morphemes, called words, added to the stem pronoun.<sup>50</sup>

The grammarians divide the pronoun into two major categories, with further subdivisions for each. The first

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<sup>49</sup>Ḥasan, al-Naḥw al-wāfi, 1:217-85.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 1:235 ff. The single morpheme, or simple (baṣiṭ), pronouns include the yā' "my," tā' "I" of katabtu "I wrote", the ḥā' "him, his," and naḥnu "we." Compound (murakkab) pronouns are those adding the dual alif, feminine plural nūn, masculine plural mīm or the morpheme 'iyyā- to the simple pronoun. `Abbās Ḥasan, 1:237, advocates simplifying this view of the pronoun to consider each pronoun an independent word, whatever its morpheme count.

division is between overt (bāriz)<sup>51</sup> and latent (mustatir)<sup>52</sup> pronouns. Overt pronouns are either bound (muttaṣil)<sup>53</sup> or free (mustaqill or mufaṣil).<sup>54</sup> Overt bound pronouns are of three types: nominative, oblique, and shared between the three cases. Overt free pronouns are of two types: nominative and accusative. The latent pronoun is considered nominative and bound and is categorized according to whether its latency is obligatory (wujūban) or optional (jawāzan). The chart on the following page provides a schematic representation of traditional Arabic pronoun categories.

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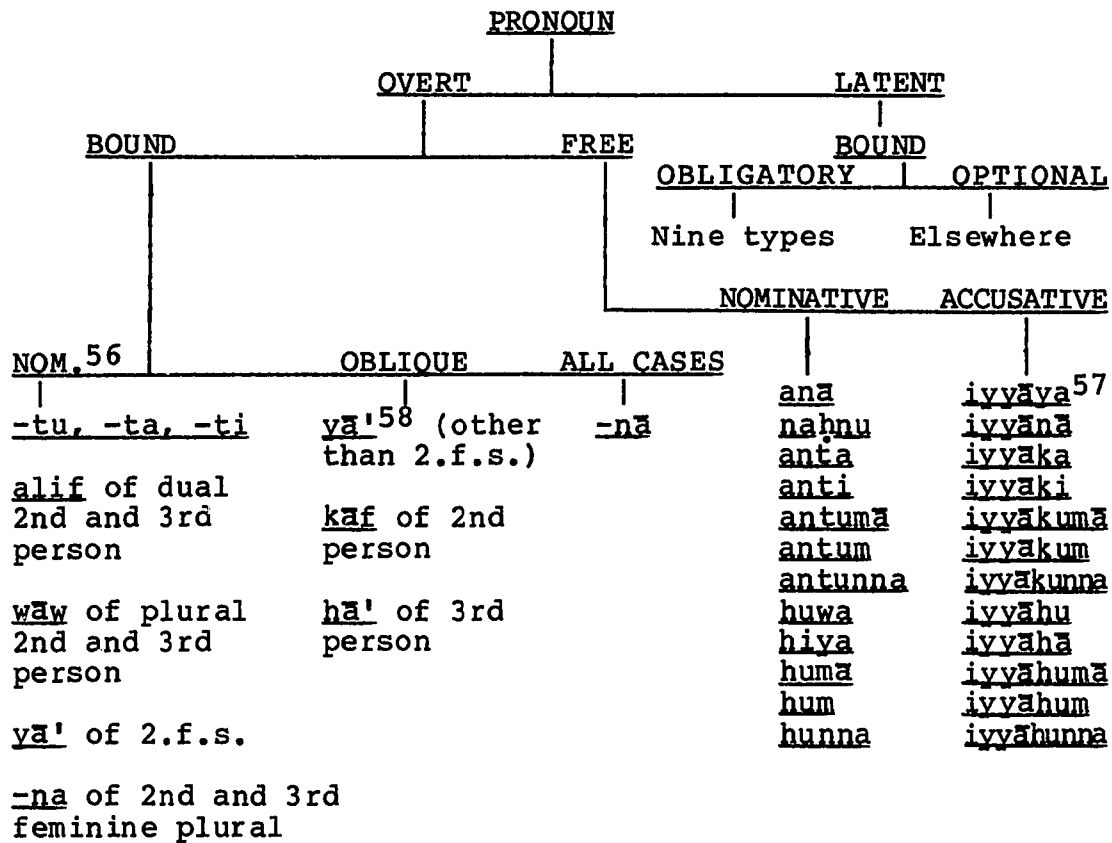
<sup>51</sup>An overt pronoun is defined as a manifest form in a speech construction which is both verbalized and written. In the sentence: ana ra'aytuka "I saw you" the overt pronouns are ana, -t- and -k-. *Ibid.*, 1:219.

<sup>52</sup>A latent pronoun is defined as one which is of the same nature (ḥukm) as, or equivalent to, an overt pronoun, but which is unverballed and undeleted (ghayr maḥdhūf). It may only be nominative, and is essential ('umda) to the sentence in which it occurs. It belongs to the class of bound pronouns. In the sentence: sā'id ghayraka yusā'idka "Help another; and he will help you," the latent pronouns are in the imperative and the indicative, i.e., the anta implied in sā'id and the huwa implied in yusā'id-. *Ibid.*, 1:219-20.

<sup>53</sup>The bound pronoun is defined as a pronoun which always occurs at the end of a word. It may not occur at the beginning of a word or at the beginning of a sentence. It cannot be pronounced by itself because it is inseparable from its regent. *Ibid.*, 1:220.

<sup>54</sup>The free pronoun is any pronoun not written as part of another word. It may occur at the beginning of a sentence, independent of its regent, or following it but separated by a particle such as the exceptive particle illa. *Ibid.*

Schematic Diagram of Traditional Arabic Pronoun Analysis<sup>55</sup>



<sup>55</sup>Adapted from 'Abbās Ḥasan, al-Naḥw al-wāfi, 1:234.

<sup>56</sup>For Sibawayh, 3:38, the feminine tā' marker of the 3rd feminine singular perfect verb is not to be considered a bound nominative pronoun since it is "not like the wāw (of the plural) or alif (of the dual), but like the feminine hā' (tā' marbūṭa) of ṭalha 'Talha;' not a (pro-)noun."

<sup>57</sup>William Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, Cambridge, 1964<sup>3</sup>, 1:103, and most Western linguists, considers this a compound pronoun formed by iyvā- plus the genitive suffixes.

<sup>58</sup>The yā' of the first person is not differentiated by case for genitive which has the form -ī--ya, and accusative which has the form -nī. The nūn of the latter is called the nūn al-wiqāya "preventive nūn" because it prevents the occurrence of adjacent vowels. Wright, Grammar, 1:101.

a. Overt Bound Pronouns

Overt bound pronouns are organized by their inflective functions into three types: nominative only, jointly genitive and accusative, and jointly nominative, genitive and accusative. Overt bound pronouns of the nominative-only type are five in number. They are the vowellable tā', suffixed to the perfect form of the verb, in the first and second person alike, disregarding any other morphemes which may be added thereto; the alif of the dual (third person only); the wāw of the plural (third person only); the nūn of the feminine (third person only); and the yā' of the second person feminine imperative. When either the dual alif or plural wāw occur in nouns they are not pronouns but letters indicating (hurūf dālla 'alā) dual and plural.

Jointly genitive and accusative pronouns are of three varieties. They are the yā' of the first person including the yā' of the first person accusative morpheme -nī, the kāf of the second person, and the hā' of the third person. Only one pronoun, the -nā' of the first person plural, is shared between nominative, genitive and accusative positions in the traditional classification.<sup>59</sup>

b. Latent Pronouns

The obligatorily latent pronoun is always nominative and considered bound as we have previously mentioned.

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<sup>59</sup>Haṣan, al-Nahw al-wāfi, 1:221-22.

Neither an overt noun, nor any of the free pronouns, can be substituted for it, for if they are verbalized as in afrahu 'ana "I am happy," the overt pronoun, which in this case is 'ana, is said to be in intensifying apposition to the latent pronoun in the verb. This pronoun occurs as the agent in the following nine major locations.

1. 2nd person masculine singular imperative verb
2. 2nd person masculine singular imperfect verb
3. 1st person singular imperfect verb
4. 1st person plural imperfect verb
5. Perfect verbs of exception such as khalā and 'ada
6. With laysa and lā yakūnu when they are used as verbs of exception
7. Perfect verb of wonderment referring to the mā which precedes it
8. Imperfect verbal nouns or imperative verbal nouns<sup>60</sup>
9. Verbal nouns serving in the place of the imperative such as qiyāman lil-zā'ir "Stand for the visitor!"

An optionally latent pronoun, on the other hand, is one which may be substituted freely by an explicit noun or pronoun. For example, an optionally latent pronoun exists in the following sentence:

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<sup>60</sup>Wright, Grammar, 1:294-96, calls such words as 'uffa "Ugh!" interjections but recognizes that they have a certain verbal force, either by origin or use.

1. aṭ-ṭā'iru taḥarraka

"The bird moved."

because, substituting an explicit noun, it is possible to say:

2. aṭ-ṭā'iru taḥarraka janāḥuhu

"The bird; his wing moved."

The explicit noun janāḥ replaces the latent pronoun huwa, said to follow the verb in sentence 1.

The following sentence serves as an example of a substituted explicit pronoun:

3. aṭ-ṭā'ir mā taḥarraka 'illā huwa

"The bird; nothing moved but him."

This time the agent of the verb is said to be the explicit pronoun huwa following the exceptive particle 'illā, therefore there is no need to provide a latent pronoun for the verbal regent.

A. F. L. Beeston adopts a modified version of the traditional Arab analysis of the pronoun. He describes Arabic as having four pronoun sets: (1) the independent pronoun; (2) the enclitics which attach to nouns as possessive pronouns, and to verbs and prepositions as the object, i.e. the overt bound pronouns; (3) the pronouns which accompany the perfect verb, i.e. the latent obligatorily bound pronouns; and (4) the pronouns which accompany the imperfect verb, i.e. the latent optionally bound pronouns. Stating that the independent pronouns occur as inchoate subjects or



agents in nearly all the positions of the nominative noun, he seems not to include the accusative free pronouns in his analysis. The enclitics occur in all the positions of the genitive and accusative noun identically in form, with the exception of the first person singular pronoun which has the form -ī in the genitive and -nī in the accusative.<sup>61</sup>

Ibn Maḍā' rejects the view that a latent pronoun exists in Arabic, be it optional or obligatory, in the verb or its adjectival derivatives. Optional latent pronouns are traditionally said to exist in active and passive participles, and the active participle-like adjective (ṣifa mushabbaha).<sup>62</sup> He takes the position, pp. 172-73, that the participle ḍārib "beating/beater" indicates the action of beating and the unspecified agent carrying out that action. In the sentence

zayd ḍāribun `amran

"Zayd is beating Amr."

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<sup>61</sup>Beeston, Arabic Language, p. 39 ff. The third and fourth pronoun sets are described as morphologically incorporated into the verb structure as pronoun themes. While this description is essentially correct, we would prefer to use the term subject markers and to reserve the term pronoun to refer to "a word used in the place of or as a substitute for a noun," Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1979, since they do not fit the normal definition of a word and they are not replaceable by nouns in any structure in which they occur. We take Webster's definition to mean syntactic substitution since first and second person pronouns do not admit semantic substitution by nouns.

<sup>62</sup>Ḥasan, al-Nahw al-wāfi, 1:231-32.

the word dārib, by virtue of its form and location in the construction, refers to the expressed subject Zayd, in addition to conveying the meaning of the act of beating.

Likewise, pp. 176-82, he rejects the nominative obligatorily latent pronouns said to exist in verbs, by arguing that verbs indicate not only tense and action, but also indicate the agent without any additional need for taqdīr. The sentence:

zaydun qāma

"Zayd stood."

does not need to be understood as having the underlying form of:

zaydun qāma (huwa)

"Zayd stood (he)."

because it is already clear. The only reason the grammarians insisted upon the existence of an obligatorily latent pronoun huwa is because of their rule that the agent could not precede the verb, and the verb must have an agent. Since the third person masculine singular verb qāma does not have a written agent marker following it, the grammarians had to provide a suppressed agent to make their rules work.

With respect to the imperfect verb, Ibn Maḍā' takes the position that the initial ya- of the third person masculine singular, a- of the first person singular, ta- of the third person feminine singular and second person masculine singular, and the na- of the first person plural should also be considered

as explicitly indicating the agent of the verbal stem to which they are attached, in contrast to the traditional grammarians who only allowed the overt bound nominative pronouns to so function since only they fulfilled the rule concerning the agent following the verb.

Thus we see that Ibn Maḍā's position, p. 180, is really very similar to the one we have suggested above, namely that the verb carries a subject marker which "indicates the agent explicitly." To the objection that in the case of the ta- prefix the respective second person masculine singular and third person feminine actors are indistinguishable, he responds that they are distinguishable in context, just as the imperfect verb, which has the shared meaning of present and future when considered in isolation, is easily understood when considered in the context of a natural utterance.

### III. Abolition of Grammatical Rationalism and Useless Morpho-Phonological Analogies

In the final two sections of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians, Ibn Maḍā' calls for the abolition of most secondary and all tertiary reasons offered by the grammarians to explain grammatical phenomena and for the abolition of exercises in phonetic analogy which have no practical application. We will treat these sections together since both are related to his rejection of analogical reasoning in the flawed form practiced by the grammarians. First,

however, we must look at how analogical reasoning developed and came to be applied in grammar.

#### A. Analogical Reasoning

In Islamic jurisprudence, not all cases presented to the judge fell neatly under sanctioned texts. In cases lacking a clear text for judgment, the jurist was required to resort to principles established in cases of precedent to make a judgment on the basis of analogical reasoning (qiyās). This involved determining whether the new case shared a common essential feature called the reason ('illa) with the precedents. For example, qiyās could be used to determine that the Qur'ānic injunction against khamr "grape wine" should apply equally to date wine since both contained alcohol after passing through a fermentation process.<sup>63</sup>

Analogical reasoning is based in four concepts: the principle, model or precedent (aṣl), the case under consideration or the derivative from the principle (far'), the reason or shared feature, and the province or judgment

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<sup>63</sup>Medieval Arabic lexicographers denied the applicability of qiyās in their field. That is, whereas date wine was determined to be forbidden, that same reasoning process could not lead to calling date wine khamr since that usage was not substantiated by transmission (naql). Cf. Bernard George Weiss, "Language in Orthodox Muslim Thought." Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1966), pp. 68-72.

(ḥukm).<sup>64</sup> It grew out of an earlier method "called 'personal judgement' or 'considered' opinion (ra'y)...which was relatively very free and produced a wealth of conflicting religious and legal opinion. But in both the choice of the model and the discernment of the point of resemblance almost unbridled liberty was taken, and the results varied between sound analogy on the one hand, and almost complete arbitrariness on the other."<sup>65</sup>

The Zahirite or literalist school, established by Dā'ūd b. Khalaf, d. 269/882, emphasized a total rejection of qiyās and the restriction of ijmā' to that of the Companions of the Prophet. The centerpiece of Zahirite doctrine was emphasis on and literal interpretation of the Qur'ān and Hadith. While rejecting the reasoning element in jurisprudence, acceptance of sanctioned texts was extended to include what is assumed or implied in these texts.<sup>66</sup> Emphasizing the founding principles of early Islam, the Zahirites conducted an intellectual war against Ash'arite dogmatism, mysticism, saint cults and superstition.

Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova, 384/994-456/1064, was a strong proponent of Zahirism but did not succeed in attracting

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<sup>64</sup>In grammatical qiyās, the far' is often called the mushabbah "the thing compared," and the aṣl is termed the mushabbah bihi "that to which it is compared."

<sup>65</sup>Fazlur Rahman, Islam, p. 71.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

a school of supporters of his views in his own lifetime.<sup>67</sup> However, we find Ibn Maḍā', a century later, picking up the threads of Ibn Ḥazm's opposition to qiyās and qualified acceptance of ijmā', despite his Malikite training. W. Montgomery Watt observes that Ibn Ḥazm "had considerable influence in the Islamic West....(Although) his theological ideas were not adopted by the Zahirite jurists...something of his outlook is to be found in many later writers of the region, even when their general position is very different from his."<sup>68</sup> Ibn Maḍā''s indebtedness to Ibn Ḥazm is too striking to be ignored. We will take a closer look at Ibn Ḥazm's position on analogical reasoning as practiced by the grammarians in Chapter Three.

#### B. Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Reasons

The basic fault in the analogical reasoning process was the fallacious manner in which common shared features were found for making analogical comparison. Arab grammarians were willing to accept the most remote and artificial commonality if it satisfied their need to explain the language facts that confronted them. This process of explanation

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<sup>67</sup>For a detailed study of Ibn Ḥazm's grammatical and theological ideas see Roger Arnaldez, Grammaire et Théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue, Paris, 1956.

<sup>68</sup>Watt, Islamic Philosophy and Theology, Edinburgh, 1964, pp. 134-45. Cf. the assessment of Carl Brockelmann, History of the Islamic Peoples, New York, 1960, pp. 199-200, and Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 558.

or rationalization, called ta'li'l, was subjected to great misuse, especially by the Basran grammarians.

Abū l-Qāsim al-Zajjājī, d. 337/948-49, classified the reasons in grammar into three categories according to their usefulness.<sup>69</sup> He called primary reasons 'ilal ta'limiyya, "didactic reasons," because they state rules objectively without resorting to justification or rationalization. An example of a didactic reason is to observe that "Subject nouns are accusative when they follow the particle inna." Ibn Maḍā', p. 254, points out that such descriptive statements, based on empirical observation, are of great value for instructing others on the way the Arabs spoke their language.

Al-Zajjājī called secondary reasons 'ilal qiyāsiyya, "analogical reasons," because they could be used to decide whether one grammatical item shared common features with another for determining correct speech. By comparing two regents causing similar inflections, the grammarians searched for the reasons they caused similar effects in desinential inflection. An example of this type of reason is to explain that inna makes a subject noun accusative because it resembles a singly-transitive verb in that the two share the common feature of a tri-consonantal root. The grammarians were of the opinion that this resemblance constituted the reason

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<sup>69</sup>al-Idāh fī 'ilal al-naḥw, ed. Māzin al-Mubārak, intro. Shawqī Dayf, Cairo, 1959.

the word following inna takes an accusative case ending just as does the object of a verb.

Tertiary reasons were called 'ilal jadaliyya, "disputatious reasons" and were used to explain subcategories of the analogical or secondary reasons. For example, one might ask, "Should inna and its sisters be considered the same as the perfect, imperfect, or participial form of the verb?" or, "Why do inna and its sisters not follow the pattern of the verb by having the nominative noun precede the accusative noun since the nominative agent precedes the accusative object?" Justifications offered in response to questions of this nature were classified by al-Zajjājī as disputatious reasons since there could be no end to the amount of speculation they set in motion.<sup>70</sup>

Ibn Maḍā', pp. 252-64, called for the abolition from grammar of secondary and tertiary reasons drawing on a Zahirite principle in Islamic law, namely, that when a text from the Qur'ān or Hadith forbids a certain practice, one may not question why it is forbidden. If the question is asked, the jurist is not compelled to respond. Ibn Maḍā' considered recurrent (mutawātir) speech of the Arabs to be the linguistic equivalent of the Qur'ān and Hadith for purposes of determining grammatical principles and primary reasons. The term mutawātir developed in Zahirite

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., intro. p. 5.



philosophy and epistemology to cover knowledge acquired through the observation of recurrent facts or the repeated statements of so many trustworthy people on a subject that there could be no doubt as to their accuracy. Primary reasons, because they state observable facts, were the only reasons allowed in Zahirism.

On the other hand, Ibn Maḍā' was willing to accept one kind of secondary reason, which he analyzed as being of three categories: absolutely certain, generally convincing and absolutely corrupt. With reference to phonology, p. 254, he provides this primary reason, "whenever two quiescent letters occur together, and one of them is not a weak letter, one of them will be vowelised, whether they are in two words or in one...." If one asks why both were not left quiescent, the response "The speaker cannot pronounce the two quiescent," is of the absolutely correct type of secondary reasons. Had he observed Arabic speakers able to pronounce three-consonant clusters also, he might have concluded that a didactic reason was involved rather than a secondary reason. Ibn Maḍā' continues with two further examples from Arabic phonology of secondary reasons acceptable to him, but which are more properly assignable to the category of didactic reasons because they state observable facts about the Arabic language.

#### C. Abolishing Useless Morpho-Phonological Exercises

Ibn Maḍā' spends the least amount of intellectual effort in his last chapter calling on the grammarians to

stop looking for reasons to prolong their arguments about what the proper phonological form of certain hypothetical words should be. Because Arabic has a strong tri-consonantal root and canonical word formation system, the grammarians were quick to grasp the potential this offered for new word coinage. When one of the radicals of the tri-consonantal root is weak (hamza, wāw or yā'), however, its phonetic realization varies.

As grammarians investigated Arabic, they discovered that the phonological rules regarding weak letters were not completely predictable. As Ibn Maḍā' points out, the phonological combination of /uyC/ (where C stands for a consonant) sometimes became /ūC/ as in mūsir "prosperous," where as at other times it became /iC/ as in biḍ "white (pl.)." Since mūsir is singular and biḍ is plural, some grammarians deduced that phonological change was subject to a singular/plural dichotomy.

Another observation was that a following phoneme tended to change to conform to a preceding one. Thus a word such as mi'ād "appointment" from the hypothetical miw'ād finds the radical wāw unvoiced but reflected in the lengthened /i/. Opposing grammarians offered examples to show that the reverse is true, i.e. that the preceding sound tends to conform to the following sound as in the imperative of the Form I verbs having a /u/ as the vowel of the second radical. The initial vowel of this type of imperative

becomes /u/ in harmony with the following stem vowel, or /i/ if the stem vowel is /a/ or /i/.

One group of grammarians observed that the radical wāw seemed to change regularly to /y/ intervocalically following /i/ or to /ɪ/ in the environment of a following consonant. To press their argument, p. 266, they offered the rationalization that this is because "the yā' is lighter, and it is more frequent than the wāw."

Ibn Maḍā' presents this synopsis of argumentation regarding phonological change in the weak radicals to show the futile nature of a rationalist approach to linguistic phenomena. In his opinion man's role was not to seek to understand such phenomena, but to observe them, record them, and teach them to others so that students could be guided to the path of correct classical speech.

Commenting on phonological analogisms, he observes, p. 268,

"(All of) this is (with respect to) a single issue. So how will it be if (the number of issues of) this art is increased, conflict is extended, and the tentropes of speech stretch to it with little to be gained, and with no need to do so? People are unable to memorize the true classical language, so how can they (memorize) this needless conjecture? That which must be dropped from grammar is arguing over matters which do not aid speech...."

#### IV. Alternatives to Regentless Grammar

After making his appeal for the abolition of regency from grammar, Ibn Maḍā' turns to the task of providing an alternative approach for analyzing certain Arabic syntactic

styles that had been the subject of extended treatment and controversy among preceding generations of grammarians. Anticipating a criticism that would later be levelled at him, namely that his method had the effect of destroying the foundations of Arabic grammar without providing a constructive alternative, he says, p. 182,

Should it be said, "You have invalidated the (concept of) regent and the governed word in speech; now show me how this can lead to achieving the purpose of grammar."

I respond, "I will show you this in chapters which deal with these subjects in a more correct way."-...Let the following chapters serve as a guide to others.

The chapters which follow are on conflict with respect to government, object-fronting, the illative fā' and the wāw of accompaniment. We will review each of these sections in turn in the sections below.

#### A. Conflict with Respect to Government

Ibn Maḍā' devotes a major section of his book to the subject of tanāzu', the conflict with respect to government which arises in certain types of compound sentences containing verbal regents, and as such is considered an optional style rather than an obligatory syntactic mode such as question formation or negation which must be rigorously observed. Problems of case assignment and governance arise when two verbal regents precede a noun agent, and progressively become more complicated when more than one agent is involved, or when the agent of one of the verbs is also the object

of the other or of a prepositional phrase containing a pronoun referring to it. These problems grow to unmanageable proportions when the verbal regents are of the doubly or triply transitive classes because each of the numerous objects must be accusatively pronominalized in any non-governing verb, genitively pronominalized with prepositions of any verb-preposition idiom in the construction, and nominatively pronominalized in any non-governing verb in the construction of which it is at the same time the agent.

The simplest kind of government conflict is shown in the following examples:

- |      |                                  |                              |
|------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1.a. | <u>ḥaḍara</u> `aliyyun           | "Ali attended."              |
| b.   | <u>jalasa</u> `aliyyun           | "Ali sat down."              |
| 2.   | <u>ḥaḍara wa-jalasa</u> `aliyyun | "Ali attended and sat down." |

The rule that each verbal regent must govern a nominative agent is fulfilled in 1.a and 1.b, but in sentence 2. only one verb can govern `aliyyun. The other verb must govern a latent pronoun huwa "he" which is not manifested at the sentence surface. The Basrans argued that the second verb is the regent of the overt agent by virtue of proximity to it. The Kufans argued that the first verb governs because of its initial position in the sentence.

In the following set of sentences the question of governance becomes more complex because when they are combined, Ali is the agent of one verb and the object of the other:

- |      |                        |                 |
|------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 3.a. | <u>ḥaḍara</u> `aliyyun | "Ali attended." |
|------|------------------------|-----------------|

b. akramtu `aliyyan

"I honored Ali."

Two ways in which they may be combined are as follows:

4.a. ḥaḍara wa-akramtuhu `aliyyun

"Ali attended and I honored him."

b. ḥaḍara wa-akramtu `aliyyan

"(He) attended and I honored Ali."

Sentence 4.a is in the Kufan style, i.e., Ali is nominative on the basis that it is governed by the first verb of which it is the agent. The second verb in the sentence governs a pronoun which refers to Ali. Sentence 4.b is in the Basran style. This time Ali is accusative because it is governed by the verb closest to it, akramtu. The verb ḥaḍara governs a latent pronoun, huwa "he."

Five distinct types of sentence in the tanāzu` style are distinguishable wherein the regents govern the noun-in-conflict 1) equally in the nominative case; 2) equally in the accusative case; 3) one regent governs in the nominative while the other governs in the accusative; 4) wherein the governed structure is genitive following a prepositional phrase related to the preceding regent; and 5) wherein the regents are of the kāna type (nawāsikh).<sup>71</sup>

Three compound sentence types appear to meet the criteria for the tanāzu` style, but in fact do not. They are 1) sentences which contain a deleted governed word; 2) sentences

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<sup>71</sup> `Abdullāh Darwish, Tahdhīb al-naḥw, Cairo, 1966, 2:72-73.

wherein the verb is repeated a second time for emphasis (uslub al-ta'kid; and 3) topicalized sentences where the noun in apparent conflict is in construct state with a pronoun that refers back to the topicalized noun (al-marfu' al-sababi).

Ibn Maḍā' adopts a three-part solution to the problems presented by the tanāzu' style. First, having denied the existence of regency as an operating principle in grammar, he suggests replacing it by considering the substantive agent as "appended" to the second (or last) verb. That is, its case will be determined by the verb which immediately precedes it. If the second verb is transitive, and the appended substantive agent is nominative, the second verb will simply be marked with the accusative pronoun referring to it. This eliminates the need for the clumsy multiple pronominalization that regency demands, and is identical to the practice of the Basrans. Adoption of the Kufan style is rejected because it requires the principle of regency, and leads to a complicated series of pronominalizations that could be defined as inelegant at best.

Secondly, he recommends that the tanāzu' style not be used with verbs which are doubly and triply transitive because one cannot find supporting examples in actual Arabic usage. The issue only arises by the application of analogy, is therefore theoretical and has no bearing on the linguistic reality of Arabic.

Thirdly, the principles of regency and analogy lead to immense complications when one considers the many types of regents which can potentially be used in the tanāzu` style, p. 192:

Should all the verbs, fully inflected and non-inflected, be included in this chapter or not? Are nouns and particles akin to verbs in this matter or not? Are appendant words (muta`al-liqāt) which the grammarians call governed (ma`mūl fīhā) such as adverbs (ẓarf), circumstantials (ḥal), adverbs of specification (ṭamvīz), adverbs of purpose (maf`ūl min ajlihi), cognate accusatives (maf`ūl mutlaq), and adverbs of accompaniment (maf`ūl ma`ahā) of the same category as the other complements (maf`ūl bihi), the agents and the prepositional phrases (majrūr) or not?

He recommends only using standard verbs, the verb of wonderment because it can be pronominalized, and kāna and its sisters in this style. He rejects applying the pronominalization principle to any of the other categories mentioned above.

#### B. Object-Fronting

Perhaps the most complicated discussion in the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians is to be found in the section applying Ibn Maḏā's proposal to object-fronting ishtighāl. Object-fronting is defined as:

The fronting of a single noun, followed by a regent which governs the fronted noun's referential pronoun directly, or governs a qualificative clause containing a pronoun referring to the fronted word, in such a manner that were the utterance to be freed of the pronoun governed by the regent, and of the qualificative clause, and the regent governed only the fronted word, the regent would cause the fronted word to be accusative in pronunciation or intent as it was before being fronted.



Object-fronting requires the co-occurrence of three things: 1) A governing word (mashghūl), also called (mushtaghil), which is a regent subject to the conditions we have previously defined; 2) A word which is governed in place of something else (mashghūl bihi), which applies to the referential pronoun referring to the noun immediately preceding the regent, and to the qualificative clause containing a pronoun referring to the fronted noun; and, 3) the word away from which governance has been drawn (mashghūl `anhu), which is the fronted noun, but which in principle follows the verbal regent as either an actual object complement or in the function of an object complement.<sup>72</sup>

As the above definition indicates, the number of possible sentence types to be found in the object-fronting style is substantial. Ibn Maḍā's treatment of the subject covers thirty-five pages in translation, nearly one-third of the entire work. We will not attempt to analyze all the various sentence types with which he illustrates his call for an end to regency, suppression and suppletive insertion in this section, but will instead show the broad outlines of his proposed treatment of object-fronting. Ibn Maḍā proposes two types of object-fronted sentences, one in which the verb is a predicate complement, and another in which it is not. Those sentences in which the verb is not considered a predicate complement are treated first. It will be noted that whereas Western grammarians treat these categories as variant sentence types, the Arab grammarians attributed the variation to the verb.

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<sup>72</sup>Hasan, al-Nahw al-wāfi, 2:127.

### 1. Non-Predicate-Complement Verbs

Verbs which are imperative, prohibitive, the subject of an interrogative or urgentive particle, or are verbs of wonder are not considered by the Arab grammarians as capable of serving as the predicate complement of a fronted noun. In the imperative, accusative and interrogative modes, Ibn Maḍā' says that the accusative case is preferred in the fronted noun, but the nominative is possible, because this is how the Arabs have been observed to speak. Only the accusative case is permissible with object-fronted sentences introduced by the urgentive particles. Nouns which are the subject of verbs of wonder, on the other hand may only be nominative when they are fronted.

### 2. Predicate-Complement Verbs

Verbs which may serve as predicate complements are considered to be those which occur in three types of sentences: affirmative, negative and conditional. In the simple affirmative declarative sentence, the noun may be either nominative or accusative, but nominative is preferred. In the simple negative declarative sentence, both the nominative and the accusative are permitted, but this time the accusative is preferred. If the noun is fronted in a conditional sentence, the noun is accusative, but there is a dispute about whether it can be nominative.

### C. Regents and the Subjunctive Verb

In the third and final section on the application of regentless grammar in the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians, pp. 236-52, Ibn Maḍā' continues his appeal for grammatical analysis based in meaning in the context of the two Arabic particles fa- and wa-. Known as the causative or illative fā' and the wāw of accompaniment or simultaneousness, these particles may introduce subordinate verbal clauses in the subjunctive mood. He had previously referred to structures containing these particles as examples of how the grammarians' insistence on suppletive insertion led to a change in the meaning of the original utterance because, p. 160,

they render the verbs which occur after these particles in the subjunctive mood by the particle an. They equate an plus the verb with the verbal noun. They change the verbs occurring before these particles to verbal nouns, and they conjoin verbal nouns to verbal nouns with these particles. When all of this is done, the meaning of the first utterance is no longer preserved.

#### 1. The Illative Fā'

Verbs in inferred clauses introduced by fa- are subjunctive when they express the result or effect of the preceding clause. According to Wright, 2:30c, "the preceding clause must contain an imperative, (affirmative or negative), or words equivalent in meaning to an imperative; or else it must express a wish or hope, or ask a question; or, finally, be a negative clause." The Arab grammarians,

Ibn Maḍā' among them, defined the first clause of such sentences to be of eight types, adding to those of Wright the polite proposal (`arḍ), the incitive (taḥḍīd), and the supplicative (du`ā'), which may be considered as rhetorical subdivisions of those mentioned by Wright. The Arab poets also used the subjunctive verb after the fa- in simple future constructions, but Ibn Maḍā', p. 243, considered that usage to be an anomaly not to be followed.

There are two restrictions on the use of the subjunctive with fa-. "The imperative must be pure or real (maḥḍ), not an interjection like ṣaḥ nor a verbal noun in the accusative... The negative clause must also be pure, not restricted by illā nor followed by another implied negative..."<sup>73</sup>

In his discussion of the fa-, Ibn Maḍā' addresses the lengthy and extremely dense discussion of the subject found in Sibawayh, 3:22 ff., which he finds "incomprehensible." For Ibn Maḍā', the grammatical permutations quoted above can be removed from grammar and replaced by two simple rules. The first rule is that the subjunctive occurs in the second verb in the eight sentence types cited if it is the effect of the first verb. He then cites numerous examples of each from the Qur'ān, poetry and hypothetical sentences. But, continuing, he points out that the following negative sentence is ambiguous:

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<sup>73</sup>Wright 2:31-32.

mā ta'tīnā fa-tuḥaddithana

"You come not to us and you speak to us."

The ambiguity of this sentence lies in that if it is the fact of coming which is denied, then the result is that speaking is not possible because "you" and "we" have not been together. In other words, "You do not come to us, so (how can) you speak to us?" The second meaning involves the denial of speaking, even though "you" and "we" were together. The meaning of the sentence then is, "You come to us and (then do not) speak to us." For all such negative constructions, the truth value of the first verb must be the opposite of the second verb if the second verb is to be subjunctive.

The grammarians considered this ambiguous construction to be rephrasable as:

mā yakūnu minka 'ityānun fa-ḥadīth

"There is no coming and speaking from you."

Ibn Maḍā' rejects this recasting of the construction because it is clumsy, does not resolve its ambiguity and renders neither of the possible two meanings.

Ibn Maḍā' then establishes a second rule. If, in a negative construction, the truth value of the first and second verbs is identical, the verb following the fa- will have the mood of the first verb by virtue of simple conjunction. The meaning then is, "You do not come to us, and you (do not) speak to us." Because the fa- is acting

as a simple conjunction, the negative particle mā is not repeated before the second verb.

## 2. The Wāw of Simultaneousness

The imperfect verb is subjunctive after the wāw of simultaneousness in the same sentence types made subjunctive by the fā', "when the governed verb expresses an act subordinate to, but simultaneous with the act expressed by the previous clause;...."<sup>74</sup>

Ibn Maḍā' again makes recourse to meaning to determine the proper mood marker of the verb following the wāw. He illustrates his point with the following sentences:

1. lā ta'kul is-samakata wa-tashrib<sup>juss</sup> il-labana  
"Do not eat fish and (do not) drink milk."
2. lā ta'kul is-samakata wa-tashriba<sup>subj</sup> l-labana  
"Do not eat fish and (also) drink milk."
3. lā ta'kul is-samakata wa-tashribu<sup>indic</sup> l-labana  
"Do not eat fish; and you drink milk."

Sentence 1. illustrates inclusive conjunction where the wāw conjoins the two verbs. The action of the second verb is not subordinate to that of the first, therefore both verbs are marked in the jussive. The wāw functions as a simple conjunction expressing the application of the prohibitive particle lā to both verbs. One is forbidden to eat fish and to drink milk, individually or jointly.

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<sup>74</sup>Wright 2:32-33.

Sentence 2. is an example of exclusive conjunction. The second verb is marked in the subjunctive mood indicating that "drinking milk" is subordinate to "eating fish." One is permitted to do one or the other, but not both. It is only this example of the three which contains the wāw of simultaneousness.

In sentence 3. the wāw functions again as a simple conjunction. However, this time it conjoins two independent clauses, the first of which is a prohibitive clause, while the second is a declarative affirmative clause. Again there is no subordination.

This method of presenting the illative fā' and the wāw of simultaneousness expresses the new simplicity in grammar based on an analysis of meaning as found in recurrent speech patterns of Arabic speakers as called for by Ibn Maḍā'. In the chapter which follows, we will look at the intellectual sources which inspired him and the subsequent impact of his work.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Intellectual Origins and Subsequent Impact of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians



## I. Introduction

In this chapter, we will review Ibn Maḍā'ī's indebtedness in the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians to earlier grammatical writings and then consider what impact his writing had in the medieval and modern periods. At the level of grammatical principles, we have been unable to find any trace of a specific call for the abolition of the concept of regency among the grammarians writing before Ibn Maḍā'ī. We have to assume that he developed this view of grammar in a sui generis manner.

That is not to say that all of the positions he adopts are uniquely his, however. His indebtedness to earlier grammarians is too clear to be ignored. In some regard, his approach more closely resembles that of the Kufan grammarians who were more critical of the rationalist extremes to which the Basrans had carried grammatical discussion.<sup>1</sup> We will look at some of the early arguments concerning

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<sup>1</sup>In his introduction, p. 13, Dayf states that Ibn Maḍā'ī ignored the Kufan grammarians and concentrated on the Basrans because it was the dominant school of his time. Al-Anṣārī, in Abū Zakariyyā al-Farrā' wa-madhhabuhu fī l-naḥw wal-luḡha, Cairo, 1964, p. 432, takes exception to Dayf on this point and asserts that the Kufans served as the inspiration for Ibn Maḍā'ī's formulation of the call to abolish regency. Al-Anṣārī seems to have missed Dayf's point, however, which is that Ibn Maḍā'ī was not concerned to reconcile the views of the two schools or to support one against the other, but to lead a general attack on the speculative aspects of the theory as employed by both schools.

various specific issues on which Ibn Maḍā' wrote in the following section of this chapter. His uniqueness lies in the fact that he was working not solely within a grammatical tradition, but also within the Zahirite intellectual tradition which had existed for about two centuries prior to the writing of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians.

It was the combination of his intimate knowledge of existing grammatical criticism and his adherence to Zahirite dogma that led Ibn Maḍā' to attack those who attributed hidden meanings and words to the Qur'ān and practiced faulty analogical reasoning, to reject the principle of consensus and the concept of regency, and to make his call for basing grammar on a description of how the Arabs spoke rather than trying to justify why they spoke as they did. Hence we will first concern ourselves with a closer look at Ibn Ḥazm's Zahirite attack on analogy and the traditional grammarians.

Ibn Maḍā' had little impact on subsequent generations of scholars until well into the twentieth century, but some reference to his ideas can be detected, particularly in the first two centuries following his death. A fellow Zahirite grammarian, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī specifically mentions him as an exemplary grammatical scholar, while Ibn Khaldūn suggests a new direction in the study of language which shows a substantial relationship to the approach advocated by Ibn Maḍā'.

Despite the fact that his work was generally overlooked in the medieval period, the rediscovery of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians this century has had an impact of such magnitude on the advocates of Arabic language reform that we can do no more than to refer to the most important scholars who have devoted considerable attention to his work.

## II. Indebtedness to Earlier Grammarians

### A. Ibn Ḥazm

As we have indicated, the major inspirational impetus for Ibn Maḍā''s attack on traditional Arabic grammar is to be found in the Zahirite views of Ibn Ḥazm, whose views of logic and analogical reasoning are contained in al-Taqrīb li-ḥadd al-mantiq "An approach to the definition of logic."<sup>2</sup>

Arguing for basing judgments on empirical evidence and avoiding analogy, Ibn Ḥazm says,

Every seeker of truth must declare that to which his intellect compels him, that which he has witnessed and felt, and that for which there is evidence among the forementioned people. He must not deign to make a deduction about a principle until he has knowledge of all of its underlying parts. If he cannot do so he must not render a judgment on that which he has not witnessed. He must not judge except that which he knows, nothing else. If you practice this in legal judgments it will be of great use to you; it will prevent you from analogy which tempted many people, including distinguished imāms who by their mistakes

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<sup>2</sup>Edited by Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1959. See also Ibn Ḥazm's Mulakhkhaṣ ibtāl al-qiyās wal-ra'y wal-istiḥsān wal-taqlīd wal-ta'līl, Damascus, 1960.

wronged thousands upon thousands of people. If you do so, you will be aware of that which is correct because you have not made an absolute determination regarding permitting or forbidding or affirmation, except by virtue of that which God has given you as a basis for judgment. That on which you find no text (nass) remain silent about; do not make an absolute judgment about it, for it is not part of that on which you find a text."<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm is particularly concerned because the analogists misappropriated the methods of syllogistic analogy and turned them into weak sophistic tricks, arbitrary and reprehensible, comparing two items which bear some particular of resemblance and declaring this process to be analogy and deduction. In so doing he says they are

...like the Berber who sought to make it permissible to eat a boar he had hunted down by calling it the offspring of a male animal....As we have previously stated, there are no two things in this world which do not have of necessity similarities and differences. Since that is the case, we could state that all things are equal since they share some property...(but) this is all error and confusion, leading us to contradiction and deviation from the true path.<sup>4</sup>

Elsewhere, Ibn Ḥazm relates his views on analogy directly to the practice of the traditional grammarians as follows:

An example (of corrupt analogy) is the grammarians usage of their reasons, all of which are corrupt and contain not a single element of truth. The fact is they have not heard these things from the language speakers to whom they refer for substantiation and transmission. In addition to their being false and contradictory arbitrariness, they are lies. Their saying that originally a linguistic fact was thus and so, whereupon it was too difficult so it became thus and so, is something which any sensible person

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<sup>3</sup>al-Taqrīb, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

knows to be a lie and something that never existed.<sup>5</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm subsequently reaffirms "the science of grammar is based on early sayings of the Arabs that have been preserved, and which increase their understanding of the meanings of their language. But the reasons ('ilal) in grammar are very corrupt."<sup>6</sup>

This view of the grammarians is repeated by Ibn Ḥazm's contemporary, Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī, d. 466/1074, who declared that

the method of explaining causes adopted by the grammarians will not stand up to inspection. It will not prove unique usages, indeed will not prove anything at all. For that reason, the correct grammarian is the one who says, 'This is how that Arabs spoke,' without adding anything else."<sup>7</sup>

Beyond rejecting qiyās, secondary and tertiary reasons, Ibn Maḍā' suggested divorcing grammar entirely from the principles of jurisprudence because they were not appropriate to this science. In his view, p. 149, the grammarians must "...give up (false grammatical) notions which are unlike the concepts of jurisprudence which were established by the lawgiver, upon whom be prayers and peace, as a guide to rendering verdicts...."

At least two grammatical works prior to Ibn Maḍā'

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 202.

<sup>7</sup>Sirr al-faṣḥa, ed. 'Abd al-Muta'al al-Ṣa'idī, Cairo, 1969, p. 33. Noted in al-Banna's introduction, pp. 9-10.

advocated abandoning or at least limiting qiyās and offered in its stead grammars that were content to describe grammatical relationships, rather than try to justify them.

B. Khalaf al-Aḥmar

In the writings of Khalaf al-Aḥmar, d. 180/795 (the year of Sībawayh's death), we find that the criticism of rationalist grammar is virtually as old as Arabic grammar itself. In a work entitled An Introduction to Grammar, he criticized the grammarians for their use of specious reasoning and offered a grammar to students which would be a guide to proper Arabic usage free of grammatical argumentation and interpretation.<sup>8</sup>

C. Abū Jaʿfar al-Naḥḥās

A similar grammar was written by Abū Jaʿfar al-Naḥḥās, d. 338/949, entitled al-Tuffāḥa fī l-naḥw. This work, only eight folios in length, reportedly contains thirty-one chapters which present "all of the principles of grammar and major rules... (while) avoiding grammatical disputes and relying on the common literary language...." Interestingly, the author omits altogether the chapters on object-fronting and conflict with respect to government which were common

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<sup>8</sup>Aḥmad Mukhtār ʿUmar, al-Baḥth al-lughawī ʿind al-arab, Cairo, 1982, p. 143. For a discussion of the grammarians contemporary with Sībawayh, including Khalaf al-Aḥmar, see R. Talmon, "Naḥwiyyūn in Sībawayhi's Kitāb," JAL 8 (1982) pp. 12-38.

to most grammars.<sup>9</sup>

D. Ibn Wallād

Ibn Wallād, d. 332/943, attacked tagdīr and qiyās because they led the grammarians to postulate structures which the Arabs never used, and to reject others which the Arabs actually did use. He says it is sometimes the case that "the Arabs refuse to speak a certain way, even though qiyās compels it; and they say other things, even though qiyās forbids it." For that reason, "the grammarians must follow the path of the Arabs, since their purpose is to speak in their language. But they have no right to make analogies, even those correctly arrived at, that lead to non-Arabic speech. However, this is not how they have constructed their profession."<sup>10</sup>

In general, the Basran grammarians were the most famous for their use of tagdīr and analogical reasoning. The Kufans often objected to the excesses to which this drove them and preferred to derive their rules from the speech habits of the "pure" Arabs of the desert in a somewhat more descriptive manner, but one which was nevertheless flawed because of minor dialect differences which frequently had conflicting case endings for identical grammatical

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 143-45.

<sup>10</sup>Quoted in `Umar, ibid., pp. 145-46. See also the same writer, "Da`awāt al-iṣlāḥ lil-naḥw al-`arabī qabl Ibn Maḍā", "Majallat al-Azhar, 39 (1967), 515-19.

structures. The objection to tagdīr in Arabic is as old as the science itself, but the conflict revolved around the relative importance that should be assigned to it, not around its immorality when discussing Qur'ānic citations as in the case of Ibn Maḍā'.

While it is clear, indeed only natural, that Ibn Maḍā' was participating in an intellectual debate that had been around for ages in various forms, it is not true that Ibn Maḍā''s work therefore lacks originality. This charge is frequently leveled at him by conservative opponents of Arabic language reform. His originality and significance is well-established by the fact that his is the first work in the history of Arabic grammatical writing to be exclusively devoted to calling for its reformation through the abolition of regency.

At this point, however, let us turn to a more serious charge levelled at Ibn Maḍā', namely that his work constitutes little more than plagiarism of the ideas of Abū Zakariyyā l-Farrā', d. 207/822.

#### E. Abū Zakariyyā l-Farrā'

We know that Ibn Maḍā' was familiar with the work of al-Farrā' because of a reference to him in the chapter of conflict with respect to government, p. 183, where he discusses the latter's dispute with al-Kisā'ī who permits the agent in conflict to be governed by the second verb. Al-Farrā' was perhaps the most prominent member of the



Kufan school of grammar after al-Kisā'ī with whom he is considered a cofounder.<sup>11</sup>

Al-Farrā' was a scholastic and a Mu'tazilite who enjoyed using philosophical and logical terms in his writing. According to Versteegh, al-Farrā''s method may have been identical to that of the "linguistic philosophers, a name which indicates those scholars who occupied themselves with the difference between logic and grammar. This group of grammarians must have been closely identified with al-Fārābī, who stands out as one of the principal sources for the knowledge of Greek logic among the Arabs."<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately very little of al-Farrā''s grammatical writing has survived so it is difficult to get a clear picture of his system. He wrote a book entitled In Refutation of Sibawayh which certainly would have shown how the two differed had it come down to us. Only his work on the Qur'ān, Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān, is known to survive. It is a combination of philology and Qur'ānic exegesis. He also authored a book on grammar in the last years of his life, commissioned by the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn, entitled

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<sup>11</sup>In al-Madāris al-nahwiyya, Shawqī Dayf indicates the importance of al-Farrā' by devoting thirty-one pages (pp. 192-223) to his grammatical views.

<sup>12</sup>Versteegh, Greek Elements, p. 150.

al-Hudūd, containing a chapter on i'rāb.<sup>13</sup>

In his dissertation on al-Farrā', Aḥmad Makḥḍūm al-Anṣārī points out that Ibn Maḍā' was preceded in several of his views by al-Farrā'.<sup>14</sup> But in making this point, he asserts repeatedly, pp. 425, 427, 429, 431, 433, that Ibn Maḍā' was deceitful and guilty of plagiarism for taking al-Farrā''s ideas and espousing them as his own without attribution because he did not wish to be accused of imitation nor allow others to see his indebtedness to ideas which had originated in the Mashriq.

Al-Anṣārī bases his case on the following points. He informs us that Ibn Maḍā' imitated al-Farrā' who eliminated the notion of the muta'alliqāt in nominal sentences composed of an inchoate subject and a prepositional or adverbial phrase, and proposed that the latter two replace the muta'al-liqāt. In other words, the prepositional or adverbial phrase should be viewed as the predicate complement without the need to postulate an underlying kā'in, qā'im "being" or mustaqirr "located" between the two surface elements of the sentence. This concept is clearly adopted by Ibn Maḍā', pp. 170-72, who says that once the concept of the regent is dropped from grammar such sentences can be treated

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<sup>13</sup>Mahḍī Makḥḍūmī, Madrasat al-kūfa wa-manhajuhā fī dirāsāt al-luḡha wal-naḥw, Baghdad, 1955, p. 95. For a discussion of the contents of al-Hudūd, see The Fihrist of al-Nadīm, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge, New York, 1970, 1:147-48.

<sup>14</sup>al-Anṣārī, al-Farrā', esp. pp. 423-34.

as two noun phrases joined by a preposition or adverb that expresses the relationship between the two.

Concerning the illative fā' and the waw of simultaneousness, Ibn Maḍā' declares there is no need to postulate a suppressed regent for the following subjunctive verb since when the verb is subjunctive it is for the purpose of showing the distinctive semantic relationships of causality, consequence or simultaneousness which the indicative mood does not convey. This concept is referred to earlier by al-Farrā' who calls it ṣarf or khilāf, both words meaning approximately "distinction" or "difference;" i.e., showing an opposition between the truth values of the first verb and the second which is reflected in their differing moods. In this regard, al-Farrā' differed with Sībawayh, who as Ibn Maḍā' noted, p. 160, had proposed that the second verb was subjunctive due to a suppressed particle an, and al-Kisā'ī who took the position that the particles themselves served as the regents, putting the following verb in the subjunctive.<sup>15</sup> Again, al-Anṣārī is correct in pointing out the near identity between the two on this issue.

According to al-Anṣārī, Ibn Maḍā' took the very call for the abolition of regency from al-Farrā', because when the latter argues that the noun object of accompaniment is made accusative on the basis of ṣarf, he thereby nullifies

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<sup>15</sup> Umar, al-Baḥth al-lughawī, p. 118.

the notion of verbal regency.<sup>16</sup> We believe that al-Anṣārī is unwarranted in drawing such a sweeping conclusion, for apart from the fact that it is based on just one example, he ignores the many other occasions in which al-Farrā' accepts government and uses it in his discussion of desinential inflection.

As further evidence of plagiarism, he states that Ibn Maḍā' borrowed his denial of latent pronouns in verbs from al-Farrā' who considered the prepositional phrase in a passive sentence containing a verb preposition idiom to be the pro-agent (nā'ib fā'il) by itself. Thus in the sentence

dhuhiba bihi

"He was taken away."

the prepositional phrase bihi serves as the pro-agent of dhuhiba. Al-Farrā' considers bihi to be in a nominative position, thus eliminating the need to imply a latent pronoun in the verb or to imply a referential pronoun referring back to the verbal noun understood in the verb. Adverbial phrases are treated in the same manner.<sup>17</sup>

This argument must not have proven attractive to Ibn Maḍā', for he makes no reference whatsoever to passive constructions in the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians

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<sup>16</sup>Al-Anṣārī, al-Farrā', pp. 427-30.

<sup>17</sup>Al-Anṣārī, al-Farrā', pp. 423-26.

when discussing latent pronouns in verbs. More importantly, however, al-Anṣārī's thesis contains the implicit assumption that the verb requires a governed subject noun, or as in this case a prepositional phrase(!), an assumption which Ibn Maḍā' would not have accepted. In discussing the passive construction under the rubric of object-fronting, p. 59, Ibn Maḍā' suggests that the fronted pro-agent should be nominative regardless of whether it is the pro-agent of a transitive verb or a verb-preposition idiom.

In another innovation reported by al-Anṣārī, al-Farrā' proposed that prepositional and adverbial phrases should be considered as inchoate subjects when they head the sentence, whereupon the following nominative noun serves as the agent, thereby eliminating the need to imply any regent. Ibn Maḍā' does not address this question, perhaps because it can hardly be considered to provide any simplification of grammar theory.

Al-Anṣārī is further mistaken in reporting that Ibn Maḍā' borrowed his ideas on object-fronting from al-Farrā' who considers the inchoate object noun in the object-fronting style to be governed in the accusative by the following verb, not by a deleted initial verb. Thus for al-Farrā', the following verb akramtahu governs the accusative ending of muḥammad in the sentence:

muḥammadan akramtahu

"Muḥammad; you honored him."

Traditional Arabic grammar had considered it to have the underlying form of:

(akramta) muḥammadan akramtahu

"(You honored) Muḥammad; you honored him."

In this example, not only has al-Anṣārī missed Ibn Maḍā'ī's point, namely, that case endings are not caused by words, deleted or present, but he misrepresents Ibn Maḍā'ī's position on this type of sentence. For Ibn Maḍā'ī, p. 218, affirmative declarative sentences in the object-fronting style take the initial noun in either the nominative or accusative case, but the nominative is preferred. Ibn Maḍā'ī does not state that the inchoate object noun is to be governed in the accusative case by the following verb because he is opposed to the concept of government in its totality.

Al-Anṣārī is no doubt correct in attributing certain points of similarity between al-Farrā' and Ibn Maḍā'ī to the latter's familiarity with the grammatical work of the former. But it is excessive to charge as he does that Ibn Maḍā'ī was guilty of plagiarism since he clearly attributes al-Farrā' on one occasion, and more importantly, because his eclectic use of evidence and ideas that were in the public domain served to bring him to a unique conclusion, namely, that the concept of regency could be eliminated from grammar altogether.

Moreover, Ibn Maḍā'ī regularly quotes the sources he

is using, attributing grammatical arguments to supporters and opponents equally, following accepted Islamic scholarly practice, and showing a certain pride in doing so. In his words, p. 236,

"In this chapter, I have concluded (the subject of) that which is needed and that which can be done without. I added relevant citations and arguments for and against Sibawayh so that the reader may know that I have covered their statements and that I know that which I have proven."

The only source available written by al-Farrā', Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān, does not call for the abolition of the concept of regency. Indeed throughout the work one finds him referring to the regent in his grammatical discussions. He merely proposed alternate solutions to grammatical problems which involved assigning regency in a manner that was sometimes simpler, but at other times equally cumbersome as the analysis it was supposed to replace.

### III. Impact in the Medieval Period

It is not easy to trace a significant influence attributable to the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians in the extant grammatical literature written between Ibn Maḍā'ī's death and the book's rediscovery in the late 30's of this century. We can only guess at the reasons that the majority of subsequent grammarians did not adopt his ideas and develop them, but the following factors are certainly important.

Because the book was written close to the end of his life, Ibn Maḍā'ī did not have a long time to develop students

to carry on his work after him. Within a few years after his death the Almohad state was to experience a severe and sudden decline in its fortunes. Muslim Spain, which had witnessed considerable military action throughout the 6th/12th century, went into a state of persistent upheaval as city after city was lost to the Reconquista, with the result that irreplaceable manuscripts and artifacts of Islamic culture were destroyed. Ibn Maḍā's proposal was too radical to gain the acceptance of the majority of Islamic scholars and Arabic grammarians, so there was no great impetus to propagate his ideas or reproduce whatever manuscripts of his work existed. Speaking generally, Arabic language education was accessible only to a limited urban elite who were free to devote their entire lives to the pursuit of the Islamic and Arabic humanities and sciences. Here again, there was no compelling need to simplify the teaching of Arabic since students had plenty of time to study, and learn through an unquestioning process of rote memorization the intricately rationalized rules of grammar that generally enjoyed universal acceptance. Zahirism as a dynamic philosophical movement in Islam had reached its zenith under the Almohads, especially in the last two decades of the 6th/12th century. With the sudden political decline of the Almohads at the onset of the 7th/13th century, the Zahirite ideas contained in Ibn Maḍā's call for grammar reform lost what little claim for the attention and interest



of the Malikite scholars of Andalusia and North Africa they had been able to make previously. Finally, important as his denunciation of regency was, it constituted but one element of the reform needed to reconstruct Arabic grammar along the descriptive and functional lines which he advocated. His call lacked the comprehensiveness needed to attract others to his cause.

Despite the many factors that forced his work into relative obscurity, traces of his ideas do turn up in the writings of his successors, occasionally attributed directly to him. One such case is found in the writings of the grammarian Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī who died 150 years (745/1344) after the death of Ibn Maḍā', and who like Ibn Maḍā', was also a Zahirite. Shawqī Dayf finds numerous similarities in the ideas of the two men.<sup>18</sup>

A. Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī

Although Abū Ḥayyān did not call for abolishing the concept of regency, he did insist that the grammarians should abstain from fruitless speculation on the causes of linguistic and grammatical phenomena and from indulging in grammatical exercises which were of no practical value. He maintained that speculation as to whether nouns or verbs precede in desinential inflection leads nowhere. The answers to such questions as why nouns do not take the jussive,

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<sup>18</sup>Dayf, al-Madāris al-naḥwiyya, pp. 320-21.

why verbs do not take the genitive, and why the final tā' morpheme of the perfect verb takes a ḍamma in the first person singular, a fatha in the second person masculine singular, and a kasra in the second person feminine singular will never be found, he said, because they are part of the given facts or linguistic conventions peculiar to the language. Like Ibn Maḍā' he preferred to rely upon attested usage (samā') rather than analogy, especially when the two were in conflict. According to Ḍayf, this diminution of the role of analogy is then directly traceable to the position taken by al-Suyūṭī in Ham' al-hawāmi'.<sup>19</sup>

In his commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik, Abū Ḥayyān devotes several pages to discussing the futility and uselessness of trying to establish linguistic reasons and comes to the conclusion that the only authority for language principles is to be found in accepted usage. Through his investigation of the other languages he had studied, Turkish, Persian and Amharic, he learned that:

...the rules comprised in them require no rationalization at all, that every general turn of phrase must be supported by evidence from what is said, and that (furthermore) no consideration of analogies should enter. One can record only what the people (speaking) that language say.

I have seen no one of the earlier scholars call attention (to the necessity) for the rejection of these rationalizations except the judge of the community, the imām Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Maḍā', author of "The Book of the East on Grammar." He taunted the rationalizers

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

for the feeble reasons advanced and upbraided them for loading their books with this material.<sup>20</sup>

Here we have clear evidence that Ibn Maḍā's call for a new approach to grammar did not go totally unnoticed, even though it was not to be applied. Recently one Egyptian Arabist who has specialized in Ibn Maḍā' has shown that Ibn Khaldūn (732/1332-808/1405) held views on language which were very much outside the traditional mainstream, but which would have met with the approval of Ibn Maḍā' and Abū Ḥayyān.<sup>21</sup>

#### B. Ibn Khaldūn

Ibn Khaldūn was born in the lifetime of Abū Ḥayyān, but there is no direct evidence that he had access to his grammatical ideas at the time he wrote al-Muqaddima, or for that matter, to those of Ibn Maḍā'. Yet there is a similarity in Ibn Khaldūn's approach in that he took man as the center and focus of all social activity, linguistic included. Franz Rosenthal says that Ibn Khaldūn's originality

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<sup>20</sup>Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, Manhaj al-sālik: 'Abū Ḥayyān's Commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Malik, ed. Sidney Glazer, New Haven, 1947, p. 231. Translated in Glazer, "Noteworthy Passage," op.cit., p. 108. Although Glazer has chosen the reading "al-Mashriq" (East) over "al-Mushriq" (Enlightener) as the Arabic title of Ibn Maḍā's book, there seems to be no justification for doing so. Ibn Maḍā' is unlikely to have titled his work the Book of the East since he was keenly aware of his role as a Andalusian grammarian attacking Eastern ideas.

<sup>21</sup>Muḥammad 'Id, al-Malaka l-lisāniyya fī nazar Ibn Khaldūn, Cairo, 1979.

in al-Muqaddima is that he "re-evaluates, in an altogether unprecedented way, practically every single individual manifestation of a great and highly developed civilization...in the light of one fundamental and sound insight...as a function of man and human social organization."<sup>22</sup>

As we have shown throughout this study, Ibn Maḍā' adhered to the notion that language should be viewed as a function of man as speaker, a view which he had found earlier in the writing of Ibn Jinnī, but he adds the very important caveat that ultimately all of man's acts are attributable to God alone. Moreover, the goal Ibn Maḍā' sets for grammar is to preserve the language of the Arabs from solecisms and to be able to teach others how to speak Arabic through observing the way the Arabs actually spoke. In so doing, Ibn Maḍā' presages Ibn Khaldūn's emphasis on human behavior, even though the position taken is not uniquely his.

Ibn Khaldūn did not reject the Arab grammarians out of hand, but he did not look kindly on those practitioners of the science who crammed their studies with bony rationalizations and hypothetical utterances. For example, he expresses great admiration for Sibawayh, 3:356, because he "did not restrict himself to the rules governing the

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<sup>22</sup>Ibn Khaldūn, The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols., 2nd ed., London, 1967, I:lxvvi. Nearly one-half of volume three, pp. 315-480, is devoted to a discussion of language and literature.

vowel endings, but filled his work with Arab proverbs and evidential Arab verses and expressions," and for Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360) who he says, 3:324-25, "omits the repetitions found in most chapters of grammar" and "follows (in Mughnī l-labīb) the method of the Mosul grammarians who followed in the footsteps of Ibn Jinnī."

Likewise, he expresses his admiration for the grammarians of Andalusia:

The Arabic philologists and teachers of Arabic in Spain are closer to acquiring and teaching the (linguistic) habit than others.... Other people, such as the inhabitants of the Maghrib and Ifriqiyah and others, treated Arabic philology like any other research discipline. They did not tolerate investigations of the word combinations of Arab speech. They merely provided an evidential verse with the ending vowels or decided in favor of one rule (against another), in accordance with theoretical requirements, and not in accordance with the usage and word combinations of the (Arabic) language. With them, Arabic philology thus came to be, in a way, one of the intellectual norms of logic and dialectics and (thereby) remote from the ways and habit of language.... The (grammatical) rules are means for purposes of instruction. However, (scholars) employed them as they were not intended to be employed, and caused them to become a purely scholarly discipline.<sup>23</sup>

This statement contains a clear echo of the words of Ibn Maḍā', p. 146, regarding the excesses of the grammarians:

In my view the grammarians, may God's mercy be upon them, set forth the art of grammar to protect the speech of the Arabs from solecisms, and to maintain it free of change. In this regard they achieved their goal and arrived at the objective they sought. However, they imposed upon themselves that which was not necessary, and they went beyond the amount that would have sufficed

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 3:356-58.

their purposes. Hence, the paths to the (linguistic art) became rugged, its foundations were weakened, and its arguments lost the ability to convince.

`Id points to a basic disagreement between Ibn Khaldūn and earlier grammarians in a different area, namely the view that a form of Arabic can be complete even if it lacks i`rāb. Speaking of the muwashshahāt, Ibn Khaldūn says that although most philologists disapprove of them because they lack vowel endings, they are nonetheless eloquent. Such poems are comprehensible because word endings are replaced in them by syntactic combinations (qarā'in) peculiar to the dialect in which they are composed.<sup>24</sup>

The meanings are based upon the technical conventions of people who have a particular (linguistic) habit. When the technical terminology (as it is used) in a particular (linguistic) habit is generally known, the meaning comes out correctly. And if the indicated meaning is in conformity with what one wants to express and with the requirements of the situation, we have sound eloquence. The rules of the grammarians have nothing to do with that.<sup>25</sup>

Ibn Khaldūn arrives at his position by leapfrogging i`rāb as the goal of linguistic investigation and asserting that the eloquent conveyance of ideas is the standard by which linguistic performance in Arabic is to be measured. "The perfect way of conveying (ideas) is eloquence...(which) is conformity of speech to the requirement of the situation."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>al-Malaka l-lisāniyya, op.cit., pp. 113-14, and Muqaddimah, 3:414-15,

<sup>25</sup>Muqaddimah, ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 3:399.

In so doing, he establishes the concept of situational language behavior as opposed to the prescriptive approach which dominated the work of most of the grammarians.<sup>27</sup>

Like Ibn Maḍā', he took the position that grammatical rules have to serve speech, not the other way around. Ibn Khaldūn shows himself prepared to follow the principles of classical grammar, but he stresses that perfect speech and the linguistic habit are not a consequence of the rules. Speech can be perfect even if the rules have not been laid down. The purpose of grammar is first and foremost to allow people to understand the language of the Qur'ān and Hadith in a time of linguistic change. Had this change not occurred, the need for deducing the grammar rules would not have existed.<sup>28</sup>

#### IV. Impact in the Modern Period

In this section, we will review the impact that the rediscovery of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians had on the movement for grammatical reform of Arabic in the twentieth century. Ibn Maḍā''s work has made a substantial contribution to the reform movement, and is referred to

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<sup>27</sup>Endress, op.cit., p. 343, has shown that the Jacobite theologian and philosopher Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (d. 363/974) took a similar position in his "Treatise explaining the difference between the arts of philosophical logic and Arabic grammar," wherein he says that "not all uninflected speech lacks comprehensibility, and not all inflected speech is clear and unconfused."

<sup>28</sup>Al-Malaka l-lisāniyya, op.cit., pp. 124-26.

by most progressive linguists and educators interested in simplifying the presentation of Arabic to students. We will concentrate on three figures from Egypt who have made noteworthy contributions regarding Ibn Maḍā': Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, Shawqī Dayf and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā.

#### A. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā

Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā published his landmark work entitled Iḥyā' al-naḥw, the Revival of Grammar, calling for the reform of Arabic grammar in 1937. Like that of Ibn Maḍā', his reform proposal calls for abolishing the concept of regency because the use of the regent had distracted the grammarians from a concern for how inflection markers indicate differing meanings. If he succeeds in this, he says, "we will not have to ask what the regent of each vowel is, but what meaning does this vowel indicate?"<sup>29</sup>

Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā opens his work with a definition of his purpose followed by a detailed survey of how the regent had come to be used in traditional grammar.<sup>30</sup> After a lengthy, detailed and lucid presentation of how the noun can be treated in grammar without reference to regency, he concludes, "Regardless of how people receive this book, denigrating it or praising it, the grammarians will never

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<sup>29</sup>Iḥyā' al-naḥw, pp. 41-42.

<sup>30</sup>See Chapter Two, the Regent, in this study where we have used his definition extensively.



again be able to resort to their worn-out theory of the regent...."<sup>31</sup>

The question we would like to raise in this section of our study is, "Did Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā arrive at his conclusion unaided, or was he inspired to write Iḥyā' al-naḥw after having seen the manuscript of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians in the Taymūriyya library?" We know from a footnote, p. 195, n. 1, that he was familiar with the grammatical works in Taymūr Pasha's library, so it is reasonable to assume that he saw the work during the seven years he spent in preparation for writing Iḥyā' al-naḥw. On the other hand, he makes no reference to it anywhere despite the frequent references he makes to other grammatical works with which he was familiar.

In our reading of the two works, we have found a sufficient number of similarities, both in content and structure, to lead us to the conclusion that Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā had read the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians and that it indeed served as the main source for his call for grammatical reform. That is not to say that the two works are identical. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā was not a Zahirite, therefore the reasons he gives for rejecting certain grammatical notions are generally linguistic or pedagogical, rather than because they violate the perfection of the Qur'an. Secondly, since

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

Ibn Maḍā' had in large measure completed the nullification of regency with respect to verbs, Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā concentrates on nullifying the regent with respect to nouns.

Ibn Maḍā' opened his work with an attack on the notion of regency, stating that word endings are a "function of the speaker," that "(to say) that the grammatical regent causes desinential inflection...is clearly corrupt..." that "(the postulation of grammatical regents led the grammarians) to changing the speech of the Arabs," and followed this statement with a call for the elimination of tagdīr from grammatical methodology.

Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, follows the same path, p. 2, informing us that "the rules which represent and define the system of language are in the souls of the speakers...;" that, p.50, "(inflectional vowels) are neither the remainder of a syllable nor the effect of an expressible regent. They are the work of the speaker used to indicate meaning in constructing a sentence..." and that, p. 30, "(the grammarians) legitimize styles in Arabic that the Arabs were never heard to use..." whereupon he calls for the elimination of the concept of regency and immediately thereafter appeals for the abolition of tagdīr from grammar.

Ibn Maḍā', pp. 156-61, described tagdīr as being used to supply three types of deleted words, the first type being essential to the utterance, whereas types two and three were not only non-essential, but either constitute

faulty speech or change the meaning of the utterance. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā takes an identical course, pp. 34-36. He accepts the first type of deletion, but calls for the abolition of tagdīr of types two and three, which he calls tagdīr ṣināʾī, because using this type of suppletive insertion causes language to lose its precision.

Discussing regent suppression and whether a fronted noun should be nominative or accusative, Ibn Maḍā' says, p. 211, "...the Arabs were concerned with meanings, and created differing utterances, by and large, to distinguish differing meanings...." Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā's argument sounds identical, p. 37, "(The grammarians) fail to see that the result of different readings (nominative vs. accusative) is different meanings." Here again, there is a clear convergence of viewpoints in that both transform desinential inflection from a passive role, as the object of the causality of the regent, to an active role in the clarification of syntactic relationships.<sup>32</sup>

A similar structural method is found between the two in the discussion of the naʿt sababī type of relative clause which modifies a preceding noun. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, pp. 125-26, discusses the same example taken from Ibn Jinnī by Ibn Maḍā':

hādha juḥru ḍabbīn kharībīn

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<sup>32</sup>See also Iḥyā', pp. 117-18, 122-23, for similar remarks.

"This is a destroyed lizard's den."

This in itself is not remarkable, for this citation has been the subject of grammatical speculation for centuries. What does draw our attention, however, is that just like Ibn Maḍā', Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā immediately follows with a discussion calling for the abolition of implied words in prepositional phrases.

Ibn Maḍā' then presents two sections related to latent pronouns in verbs and derived adjectives (which were considered a branch of the verb). This issue is not addressed by Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā who is concerned with regency and the noun. What again is interesting, however, is that just as Ibn Maḍā' follows with a lengthy section devoted to the application of his principles, which we have suggested may be part of al-Mushriq, so too, Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā then provides a lengthy section of his work, pp. 129-92, which he calls the Takmila, in which he demonstrates how the application of his principles apply in negation, the verb ḡanna (treated by Ibn Maḍā' under the chapter on conflict with respect to government), object-fronting, and the wāw of accompaniment (skipping the illative fā' which is related to verbs only).

The similarity of structure continues. After concluding with the wāw of accompaniment, he moves to a discussion of secondary and tertiary causes in the context of diptote nouns, p. 167, identical to that of Ibn Maḍā', p. 260 ff,

coming to the conclusion that the assertion that diptote nouns are only partially declinable because they resemble verbs is nullified by the fact that derived adjectives, which are said to be more verb-like than diptote nouns, are in fact fully declinable. Each of the sections referred to in the above two paragraphs correspond to the ordering of the same sections in the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians. Although the virtual identity of structure (allowing for the difference in emphasis on noun vs. verb) may be the result of an extraordinary coincidence, this fact coupled with the shared call for the elimination of the concept of regency and for basing grammar on a functional semantic interpretation of desinential inflection leads us to conclude that Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā indeed had read Ibn Maḍā' and drew substantial inspiration from him, both in terms of ideas, and in terms of the actual structure of Ihyā' al-naḥw, even though he did not refer to his source.

Ṭāhā `Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṭāhā has also noted the similarities between the two works:

Despite the fact (that Ihyā' al-naḥw appeared before the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians published by Shawqī Dayf), it contains many of the same points found in the latter. Indeed, the two most important viewpoints in the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians, abolition of the regent and secondary and tertiary reasons, are found in Ihyā' al-naḥw and are the basis on which Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā built his book....I do not consider it unlikely that Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā saw the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians in manuscript.... His having looked at the manuscript will become clear

as we review his study....<sup>33</sup>

Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā's work attracted substantial attention. In 1938, a committee of scholars was formed in King Fouad I (Cairo) University and in the Egyptian Ministry of Education to study his proposal for simplifying teaching the rules of Arabic. The committee submitted a report based on their study recommending changing some grammatical terms, and reordering rules and chapters which would free the student from the need to resort to tagdīr. The inchoate subject, the agent and the pro-agent were combined into a single chapter, called the musnad ilayh (roughly "subject") and thus some simplification was provided.

In 1945, the report was discussed by the Arabic Language Academy of Cairo, and parts of the report were approved. But the conservatism of many members of the academy, and of the educational establishment in general, ensured that for the time being the report's recommendations would not be implemented.<sup>34</sup>

#### B. Shawqī Dayf

In March 1947, Shawqī Dayf completed writing his lengthy introduction to the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians

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<sup>33</sup>Tahā, Dirāsāt fī l-naḥw, Cairo, 1971, pp. 72-73. See also p. 83 ff, where he demonstrates similar structure and content and concludes, p. 97, that "there can be no doubt that Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā had read the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians."

<sup>34</sup>See introduction to Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, et. al., Tahrīr al-naḥw al-ʿarabī, Cairo, 1958, pp. 4-6.

which he had edited for publication in the same year. His introduction was more than just a scholarly introduction to the text, however, for in the latter part, pp. 47-76, he joined his voice to those of Ibn Maḍā' and Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā calling for the rewriting of Arabic grammar without regency, without resorting to tagdīr and by no longer applying the principles of desinential inflection to particles and structures where they were inappropriate.

Recommending a purely descriptive approach to grammar, Dayf informs us, p. 51, that "the purpose of the grammarian is to record what he finds in the language...." When this principle is followed, and the theory of regency is abolished, the Arab grammarians will no longer have to fill their works with remote hypotheses and suppositions which are rarely understood. The first benefit to Arabic grammar is that following his recommendation would permit its reorganization in such a way that subjects which logically belong together will be treated under a single heading, instead of in scattered locations as was the practice of his time, a practice dictated by the need to organize grammar according to categories of regency.

Dayf offers the following suggestions for reorganization. The energetic verb, which ends in a fatha, can be organized under the subjunctive which does likewise. The second and third feminine plural verbs can be organized under the jussive verb which similarly ends in a consonant (dis-

regarding, of course, the final subject marker of the former which is considered the agent). The verb kāna "to be" can be treated with the rest of the verbs, with the inchoate subject considered the agent and the predicate considered a ḥāl phrase. Particles which put the inchoate subject of the nominal sentence in either the nominative or accusative case, while putting the predicate complement in the opposite case will be treated under a single heading, but no attempt to explain why this happens will be made. Such particles include the Hejazi mā and lā, the lā of absolute negation, inna and the like.

The doubly and triply transitive verbs zanna, a'lama, arā, etc., which take nominal sentences as objects will be dealt with under the direct object, while the concept of transitivity and intransitivity itself will be removed from grammar because it is linked to the concept of regency. Instead of the current terms for transitivity and intransitivity, Dayf recommends using other terms available from Arabic grammar such as wāqi'a/ghayr wāqi'a which are not bound up in the notion of regency.

With respect to nouns, he recommends putting diptotes and nouns introduced by the lā of absolute negation and the vocative particle under a single heading since they are not subject to nunation. In addition to nouns, under the category of agents, he would include noun phrases and clauses that serve as agents, (or as inchoate subjects



in the nominal sentence). The chapter on tamyīz would be broadened to include numbers, the verbs of wonderment, the comparative/superlative, ni'ma and bi'sa, ikhtisās, the interrogative kam, and numerous other words taking a following accusative noun.

The second benefit to accrue from abolishing regency, in Dayf's view, would be to free grammar from the need to postulate suppressed governed words, deleted regents, and from the exercise of assigning a position in desinential inflection to certain indeclinable words or particles, incomplete phrases or clauses, and idioms. For example, instead of saying that the verb a'lamu "I know" is "an imperfect verb, the agent (a suppressed governed word) of which is obligatorily latent, considered to be 'I'," one would simply say that it is "the imperfect verb of the first person," and leave it at that. The same principle would be applied to the verbs of wonderment and exception.

The postulation of deleted regents would no longer be necessary with respect to the prepositional and adverbial phrases which serve as predicates of nominal sentences, nor with respect to the subjunctive particles wāw and fā', object-fronting, warning, accusative verbal nouns, etc. Syntactic structures that involve the deletion of subjects or predicates, and certain idioms, would all be brought together under a single heading which he proposes to call "deviant structures" or "pseudo-sentences," be they nominative,

accusative or genitive.

Finally, grammar would be freed from having to try to explain the position in desinential inflection of certain modifier clauses, phrases and function words which cannot easily be forced into the system. Most of these problems justifiably arose because of the inordinate attention traditional Arab grammar gave to word endings, at the expense of thoroughly exploring syntactic function at most levels.<sup>35</sup>

Dayf's proposal, notwithstanding certain naive conceptions such as his adherence to the traditional analysis of the pronoun and the belief that consideration of underlying structure is of no benefit to grammatical analysis, constitutes an important contribution to the movement for Arabic grammatical reform. It is unusual, indeed we find it unaccountable, that he makes no reference whatsoever in his introduction to the identical call for the abolition of regency issued by Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā ten years earlier. Nonetheless, the publication of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians in 1947 was to have the effect of furthering the discussion of the need for grammatical reform and hastening the day when the first attempt to publish a reformed grammar would be made.

The advent of the Egyptian revolution in 1952, with its emphasis on mass education gave a much needed impetus

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<sup>35</sup>For a thorough discussion of this point, see Abdelkader Mehiri, "The Study of the Sentence by the Early Arab Grammarians," HJT 3 (1966) 35-46.

to the reform movement in language which was viewed as the door opening onto education in general. A conference was held in the summer of 1957 attended by senior Arabic language inspectors from the Egyptian Ministry of Education to discuss the simplification of Arabic grammar along the lines recommended by Shawqī Dayf and Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, followed by a second conference of intermediate level Arabic teachers wherein they declared their willingness to carry out the proposed new syllabus. The recommendations of the language inspectors were then put into book form as a reference for teachers, with a promise that a book for students would be forthcoming.<sup>36</sup>

The new book, entitled Tahrīr al-naḥw al-`arabī "Liberating Arabic Grammar," followed the program inspired by Ibn Maḍā', and called for by Shawqī Dayf and Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā. The concept of regency was abolished; secondary and tertiary reasons were eliminated, along with all reference to object-fronting and conflict with respect to government; the only type of ellipsis allowed was that of the first type acceptable to Ibn Maḍā'; suppletive insertion, suppression, analogical reasoning, and the postulation of muta`alliqāt were eliminated from the new grammar along with the postulation of latent pronouns in derived adjectives and verbs, and useless exercises in morpho-phonological analogy.

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<sup>36</sup>Muṣṭafā, et al., Tahrīr al-naḥw, p. 6.

Desinential inflection was discussed in terms of the function of the word in the sentence. Once the function was known, the type of word was examined to see what its proper vowelling should be. The authors took the position that, "in words that do not change, it is sufficient to specify their function and relationship to the construction, without contriving some hypothetical parsing which is not in the spoken utterance, and which does not appear anywhere in any form."<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, subsequent to its publication, the radical nature of the new text led to such an outcry within traditional grammar circles that its implementation was thwarted.

It was not until thirty-five years later, in 1982, that Dayf published a second edition of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians. The need to issue a new edition of the work is probably explained by the fact that it was immediately followed by the publication of his new applied grammar entitled Tajdīd al-naḥw, "The Renewal of Grammar," in which he offers his readership an Arabic grammar built along precisely the same lines he proposed in 1947.<sup>38</sup> The 1982 edition minimally updates the original edition by including corrected readings based on the Khalīliyya manuscript, but Dayf inexplicably fails to mention either

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>38</sup>Shawqī Dayf, Tajdīd al-naḥw, Cairo, 1982.

the superior edition published by Muḥammad al-Bannā in 1978 which had already accomplished that purpose or the extensive biography of Ibn Maḍā' from Ibn 'Abd al-Malik published by Iḥsān 'Abbās in 1964.

We feel it is likely that Dayf republished the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians and his new grammar in response to al-Banna's pointed criticism of the modern advocates of Ibn Maḍā''s proposal, for he says, "We cannot find a convincing explanation for the commitment of our contemporary colleagues to Ibn Maḍā''s book...perhaps they, like us, have found that he raised a thirst (for reform) which he could not quench...."<sup>39</sup>

#### C. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā

Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā, a faculty member in the conservative department of Arabic language at al-Azhar University, represents a new stage in the treatment of the Book in Refutation of the Grammarians. Al-Bannā asserts that Ibn Maḍā' knowingly misrepresented Sibawayh and set up a non-existent conflict between him and Ibn Jinnī concerning whether regency or the speaker is responsible for desinential inflection. On the other hand, we find al-Banna accepting nearly all of the other ideas put forth by Ibn Maḍā', and most importantly, advancing the discussion of the Arabic pronoun in the verb, by declaring it to be a subject marker

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<sup>39</sup>Al-Bannā, op. cit., p. 46.

rather than the agent itself.

Al-Bannā says that Sībawayh did not assert the real existence of regents, but that in fact he meant that man was the creator of regency and desinential inflection. In pressing his argument, he sets up an artificial dialogue with Sībawayh, attributing to him the statement that, "regents in no way act, nor do individuals cause these effects (of inflection), rather it is a matter of communal linguistic behavior."<sup>40</sup> Perhaps Sībawayh would have so responded had he been asked, but there is no evidence thereto, and moreover, the entire discussion seems somewhat anachronistic given the nature of grammatical debate that existed at the time.

More importantly, Ibn Maḍā' was not addressing himself to a refutation of Sībawayh, but to the entire nature and tenor of grammatical discussion as it had developed by the 6th/12th century. Therefore, discussion of what Sībawayh might have said, had he been asked, is really a side issue. Al-Bannā claims that Ibn Maḍā' offered no alternative to regency and is inconsistent in his application of regentless grammar to object-fronting and conflict with respect to government, because in the first case he resorts to sama` "oral tradition" while in the second he simply replaces

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 14-15.

the word regency with appendancy.<sup>41</sup> We do not accept al-Bannā's view because Ibn Maḍā'a's position on conflict with respect to government is consistent with his insistence upon samā'. Throughout the section he refers to oral tradition as the basis for making a case in the tanāzu' style, and recommends the Basran position that appendancy of the agent be to the second verb because of the grammatical simplicity it affords.

Despite these objections to Ibn Maḍā'a, al-Bannā generally offers a very positive response to the grammatical reform he called for. Al-Bannā accepts Ibn Maḍā'a's categorization of deleted words, and agrees with his treatment of them, accepting the first type in the speech of man, and rejecting the second and third categories. He accepts considering prepositional phrases to be direct predicate complements in nominal sentences; he accepts the notion that latent pronouns do not exist in derived adjectives and verbs; he accepts the abolition of secondary and tertiary reasoning in explaining grammar; and he finds Ibn Maḍā'a's argument against continuing useless exercises in morpho-phonological analogy compelling, with the caveat that such a practice is crucial to the Arabic language academies as they work to establish new coinages to meet the needs of growth in scientific fields and the exigencies of linguistic expression

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 19-20.

in the modern world.

He concludes that despite the faults to be found in Ibn Maḍā', "we must not ignore the ideas that his book contained, and the fact that he made a great contribution to enriching linguistic studies in our time."<sup>42</sup>

#### V. Conclusion

Ibn Maḍā''s ideas have indeed made a major contribution to the modern study of Arabic grammar. That is not to say that his book can be taken as the constitution for the further development of Arabic grammar. His views suffered from the flaws inherent in any work that makes such a major departure from traditional practice. In his work, he aimed at one explicatory level of grammatical theory only, seen in isolation. He failed to question the goal of Arabic grammar, the concept of i'rāb itself. As long as the principles of i'rāb stood, something like the concept of regency was required to account for desinential inflection. While he rejected faulty analogical reasoning such as comparing features of the imperfect verb with those of the perfect verb, or likening the noun to the verb in terms of governance, he did not carry this insight any further. He did not question the mixing of grammatical classes when analyzing desinential inflection, such as treating nouns and verbs alike when they carry the same vowel ending, and treating

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 46.



pronoun markers in verbs as the analytical equivalent of the independent nominative pronoun. Most importantly, in his zeal he failed to see the beneficial aspect of having a framework of rigorous, well-thought out and consistent rules and principles for discussing grammar in terms of underlying structure.

But on the other hand, we must not judge him too harshly. His purpose was not to reform the totality of grammatical theory, or to accomplish a thorough reconciliation of the implication of abolishing regency for the remainder of Arabic grammatical principles. It was his intention to remove from the theory those elements which attributed hidden words and meanings to the Qur'ān. In his view, removing the concept of the regent was sufficient to accomplish this purpose. Having pointed out the chinks in the massive armor of theory that had been assembled by his time, he viewed his task as completed. The work of reconciling his approach to that of the remainder of the theory would have to be carried out by others.

PART TWO

The Book in Refutation of the Grammarians

English Translation

by

Ronald G. Wolfe

## The Book in Refutation of the Grammarians

### Preface

Abū l-`Abbās Aḥmad b. `Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Maḍā' al-Lakhmī,<sup>1</sup> the expert sheikh, the most just judge, the helpful scholar, the most diligent examiner, may God sustain his good fortune and enlighten his eternal spirit with the light of His faith, give him long life, and benefit him through the knowledge which He gave to him, said:

Praise be to God for the faith He has bestowed, and for the knowledge of the language in which the Qur'ān was revealed. Prayers be upon His prophet who called (mankind) to the abode of contentment, and upon his family, his companions and those who followed them in charity. I ask God to be pleased with the infallible Imam,<sup>2</sup> the known Mahdi, and with his two successors,<sup>3</sup> our masters, the two commanders of the faithful, who have inherited his great position.

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<sup>1</sup>His full name is Abū l-`Abbās Aḥmad b. `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Sa`īd b. Hurayth b. `Aṣim Ibn Maḍā' b. Muhannad b. `Umayr al-Lakhmī. Born in Cordova in 513/1119; died in Seville 21 Jumādī (al-Awwal?) 592/1195. Ibn `Abd al-Malik, al-Dhayl wal-takmila, entry 291, pp. 212-223.

<sup>2</sup>The founder of the Almohad dynasty, Abū `Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Tūmart, (d. 524/1130). His title of Mahdi and the notion of his infallibility are normally associated with Shi'ite Islam.

<sup>3</sup>Ibn Tūmart was succeeded by his disciple `Abd al-Mu'min b. `Alī (d. 558/1163), who in turn was succeeded by his son Abū Ya`qūb Yūsuf b. `Abd al-Mu'min (d. 580/1184).

I further invoke prayer for our master,<sup>4</sup> the commander of the faithful, the son of the commander of the faithful, who has brought their lofty intentions to the utmost degree of completion and perfection.

I have been encouraged to this piece of writing by the words of the prophet, upon whom be God's prayers and peace, "Religion is sincere advice,"<sup>5</sup> and "Whoever has given an opinion about the Book of God, even though correct, is nonetheless in error,"<sup>6</sup> and "Whoever has rendered an opinion on the Book of God, not based on knowledge, may his chair be placed in Hellfire,"<sup>7</sup> and "Should one of you observe an abominable thing, he should change it with his hand, and if that is not possible, with his tongue, and if that is not possible, with his heart."<sup>8</sup>

May the reader of this book, a man concerned with such matters, if he is one who is attentive to his religion and lets knowledge serve to bring him closer to his Lord, observe (closely). If he finds that (this book) shows him that which we demonstrated, he will return to it, and

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<sup>4</sup>Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-Manṣūr (d. 595/1199). Ibn Maḍā' is writing during the reign of this ruler, i.e., after 580/1184.

<sup>5</sup>Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, Cairo, 1966, 1:23.

<sup>6</sup>Muḥammad b. 'Isā l-Tirmidhī, al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ, Beirut, 1970, 2:68.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>8</sup>Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, Ṣaḥīḥ, Cairo, 1929, 1:20.

give thanks to God for it. If it fails to do so, may he adopt a cautious posture towards the problem. If he has an opposing view, may he demonstrate what it is either orally or in writing.

In my view the grammarians, may God's mercy be upon them, set forth the art of grammar to protect the speech of the Arabs from solecism, and to maintain it free from change. In this regard they achieved their goal and arrived at the objective they sought. However, they imposed upon themselves that which was not necessary, and they went beyond the amount that would have sufficed for their purposes. Hence, the paths to the (linguistic art) became rugged, its foundations were weakened, and its arguments lost the ability to convince.

On this subject, one poet spoke as follows, "She gazes with a beguiling languid look / Weaker than the argument of a grammarian."<sup>9</sup>

However, when (the art of grammar) is approached in a manner free of excess, imitation and supposition, it is one of the clearest sciences in terms of proofs, a superior form of knowledge when tested in the scale, containing

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<sup>9</sup>Attributed to Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyyā, a renowned Buwayhīd scholar who died (395/1004) in Rayy. He was a Kufan in an age dominated by Sibawayh and the Basrans, known to have written forty works, many on grammatical topics. EI<sup>2</sup> 3:764-65; Yāqūt ibn `Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī, Dictionary of Learned Men, ed. D.S. Margoliouth, London, 1923-31, 2:9.

nothing but certainty and opinions of near equal certainty.

The example of this book (compared to) the books of the grammarians is like the example of wealthy men, who have pure sapphire, fine chrysolite, pure gold and minted coins of surpassing purity, which are mixed with glass that has been refined until it is perceived to be chrysolite, and copper that has been treated so as to be considered gold, of more brilliant appearance, of greater significance in the eye's view, more numerous and newer, until they became totally enamored of (these treasures) and thought that they were in the greatest need of them. God gave them a man of good counsel, a discerning critic. They showed him these beautiful valuable treasures which they had. He said to them:

The prophet of God, upon whom be peace and prayer, said, "Religion is sincere advice." I give you advice not for gain or profit, but so that you may find God's reward and recompense. This which you have adopted as a preparedness against your destiny, and which you thought to be a safeguard against poverty, part of it is wealth, and part of it is the shimmering of a mirage. The sapphire can be tested in a fire which makes it more beautiful as a result. But glass will not remain stable in fire. Chrysolite will melt the eyes of vipers when it is brought close to them.

He went about acting in these ways with them and elaborating thereon, exerting his effort and rallying (others) to his seriousness by (showing) wonderful and marvelous things, to alert (his audience) to those (riches) which stand true when tested and to those which prove false. Some praised and gave thanks and carried out their orders.

In exchange for that which is disgraceful and evil, they took that which is beneficial and gives happiness when misfortunes befall. Others did not heed what he said and continued as they were. Time tested them severely, and events bit into them forcefully. Their city was beset by crisis. Those who were stouthearted, and did what they knew they were to do, escaped from the crisis as the flame escapes from darkness. Those who turned their backs on it in scorn were destroyed like the beast in the desert, without pasture or water.

Likewise is he who extracts from the science of grammar that which will take him to the desired goal, and gives up (false grammatical) notions which are unlike the concepts of jurisprudence which were established by the lawgiver, upon whom be prayers and peace, as a guide to rendering verdicts, and (which are) unlike the principles of medicine which have been tested and are usually beneficial in illnesses and pain, in exchange for the traditional and theoretical religious sciences which are a shelter and a guide to heaven. God has given him the benefit of education and guided him to a straight path. But whoever restricts himself totally to types of knowledge which neither call (man) to heaven nor prevent hellfire, such as languages, poetry, the minutiae of grammatical reasons and humorous anecdotes, has made a bad choice and preferred blindness over vision, (for) "What use will a worldly man make of his vision / If daylight

and darkness are alike to him?"<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps someone will say, "Oh, you Andalusian! Happy to be racing a riderless steed; comparing your hidden firebrand to a sun and the dawning of a sun. Do you compete without an experienced mount, and vie with your drizzle against the torrential downpour?"<sup>11</sup> (or recite Jarir), "The unweaned colt of a she-camel, if tied with a rope, / Is unable to attack the great nine-year-old camels."<sup>12</sup>

Are you not what he said, "Like (a mountain he-goat) butting a rock one day to shake it, / so that he harmed

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<sup>10</sup>Verse from Abū l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), Diwan, Beirut, 1958, p. 332. Al-Mutanabbī claimed descent from the Yemeni clan of al-Juʿf. Educated in Kufa, he spent time at the courts of the greatest rulers of his time, Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo, and the Ikhshīdids in Egypt. EI<sup>1</sup> 3:781-84; ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-adab, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo, 1968, 2:347-70.

<sup>11</sup>Al-Bannā, p. 66, n.2, notes that this is based on the proverb cited in al-Maydānī, Majmaʿ al-amthāl, ed. Muḥammad M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1955, 2:135, "Anyone racing alone will be happy." The verse as cited in Dayf's edition of 1947 contained several errors.

<sup>12</sup>Verse is by Jarīr b. ʿAṭīyya b. Khaṭafa (d. about 110/728), one of the greatest Arab Islamic poets ever. He excelled in satirical poetry, most of it aimed at his rivals al-Akḥṭal and al-Farazdaq with whom he feuded for forty years. EI<sup>2</sup> 2:479-80; Baghdādī 1:75-77. For verse see Abū Bishr ʿAmr Sībawayh, al-Kitāb, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1966, 2:97; Yūsuf b. Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfi, Sharḥ abyāt Sībawayh, ed. Muḥammad A. Sulṭānī, Damascus, 1976, 1:459-60.



it not, and the mountain he-goat broke his horn."<sup>13</sup>

Do you ridicule the grammarians of Iraq, even though Iraq's superiority over distant lands is like the superiority of the dawning of the sun over the waning of the crescent moon? You are more obscure than an insect in a crevice, more hidden than a bit of straw in a brick. (In the words of the poet), "If God the Merciful were unaware of one of His creatures, / He would be unaware of Banū 'Asad."<sup>14</sup>

One would say to him, "If you are blind, unable to stand up without a guide, unable to distinguish the counterfeit from the pure without a critic, then this is not your nest; so go away!"<sup>15</sup> (Or, in the words of the poet), "Leave the path clear for him who builds the landmark therein; and come forth with Barza where destiny has constrained

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<sup>13</sup>From the Diwān of the Jāhili poet Maymūn b. Qays al-A'shā, born before 570 A.D. in Durna (s. of Riyadh) of tribe Bakr b. Wā'il, d. after 3/625 in Durna. Despite being blinded as a youth, he travelled widely, was educated at al-Hira, and became deeply involved in politics. His poetry shows a fondness for rhetorical style, sound effects and Persian words. EI<sup>2</sup> 1:689-90; Mortimer Slope Howell, A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language, Allahabad, 1883-1911, 1:1641.

<sup>14</sup>Attributed to al-Ṭirimmāh b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭā'i, d. ca. 125/743, an Islamic poet born in Syria who was active in Kufa and became an Azraqī Khārijite. Baghdādī 8:74-80. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, al-A'lām, 8 vols., Beirut, 1979, 3:225.

<sup>15</sup>laysa hādha bi-'ushshiki, fa-drujī. This Arabic proverb advises one to leave alone a matter which is beyond his capability. Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Maydānī, Majma' al-amthāl, 2 vols., Beirut, 1961-62, 2:170.

thee."<sup>16</sup>

If you are one who is stupid instead of being distinguished, but trust (others) when you should do so, then observe (what follows). You will distinguish the foam from the pure (milk), and the faulty from the true.

My purpose in this book is to eliminate from grammar that which the grammarian can do without, and to draw attention to that which (the grammarians) have unanimously agreed upon erroneously.

One such case is their claim that the accusative/subjunctive (naṣb),<sup>17</sup> the genitive (khafḍ)<sup>18</sup> and the jussive (jazm)<sup>19</sup> cannot occur without an expressible regent ('āmil

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<sup>16</sup>Verse is from Jarīr. Howell 1:201; Sīrāfi 1:223; Sībawayh 1:254.

<sup>17</sup>The technical term naṣb "accusative/subjunctive" literally means "the uplifting or elevating of the voice." It is used to indicate that the governed word typically ends in the vowel a or an. It applies equally to accusative nouns and subjunctive verbs. William Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, Cambridge, 1974, 1:8a, 235b.

<sup>18</sup>The technical term khafḍ "genitive" literally means "lowering of the voice." It is used interchangeably with jarr "being drawn along" to indicate that the governed word is typically marked by the vowel i or in, and is applied to nouns only. Ibid., 1:235b, 279a.

<sup>19</sup>The term jazm "jussive" literally means "cutting off." It is typically used to indicate that the last consonant of the verb carries no vowel. Ibid., 1:13a.

lafzi),<sup>20</sup> whereas the nominative/indicative (raf`)<sup>21</sup> may occur because of either an expressible regent or an abstract regent (`amil ma`nawī).<sup>22</sup> To express this, they hypothesized that in our saying:

ḍaraba zaydun `amran

"Zayd beat Amr."

the nominative case of Zayd and the accusative case of `Amr are caused by the verb "beat."

"Do you not see how Sibawayh,<sup>23</sup> may God have mercy upon him, stated at the beginning of his al-Kitāb, "I have mentioned eight categories in order to distinguish between what occurs to one of these four types when a grammatical

<sup>20</sup>The technical term `amil lafzī "expressible regent" designates a word that governs another in a grammatical construction. It may or may not be present in the surface structure of the construction, but it must have the potential for verbal expression.

<sup>21</sup>The technical term raf` "nominative/indicative" literally means "raising of the voice." It is used to indicate that the governed word typically ends in the vowel u or un. It applies equally to indicative verbs and nominative nouns. Ibid., 1:8a, 235b.

<sup>22</sup>The technical term `amil ma`nawī "abstract regent" designates a category of governance that cannot be verbalized. One example of an abstract regent is in the inchoate subject which is governed by its position in the nominal sentence.

<sup>23</sup>`Amr b. `Uthmān b. Qanbar al-Fārisī, known as Sibawayh, is the author of the benchmark work in Arabic grammar, known simply as al-Kitāb. Although his birthdate is not known, he died about 180/796 while young, perhaps no more than 33 years old. Born in Persia, he went to Basra as a youth and studied under al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad and other prominent Arabic scholars. EI<sup>1</sup> 4:397-98. Ẓirikī, A`lām, 5:81.

regent acts upon it, each of which may or may not be present, and those indeclinable particles which cannot be anything else."<sup>24</sup> The literal meaning of this is that the grammatical regent causes desinential inflection (i`rāb).<sup>25</sup> That (view) is clearly corrupt.

Abū l-Faṭḥ b. Jinnī<sup>26</sup> and others have stated a different (view). After discussion of expressible regents and abstract regents, Abū l-Faṭḥ stated in al-Khaṣā'is, "In truth, and summarily stated, grammatical regency (`amal)<sup>27</sup> including nominative/indicative, accusative/subjunctive, genitive and jussive, is a function of the speaker himself, not

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<sup>24</sup>Sibawayh 1:13. The eight categories referred to are arrived at by multiplying the four possible ways a word may end, /a/, /i/, /u/, or with a consonant, by the two basic types of words in Arabic, declinable and indeclinable. Ibn Maḍā' is only concerned with declinable words.

<sup>25</sup>The technical term i`rāb "desinential inflection" designates the total system for word endings in the various grammatical classes. As such it constitutes a major distinction between Classical Arabic and the various colloquial dialects where it is largely absent.

<sup>26</sup>After al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad and Sibawayh, Abū l-Faṭḥ `Uthmān Ibn Jinnī is the most important of the Arabic grammarians. Born in Mosul before 330/941, the son of a Greek slave, he died in Baghdad in 392/1001. He spent time in the courts of Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo and `Aḍud al-Dawla in Fars, befriended al-Mutanabbī, upon whose Diwān he wrote a commentary, and wrote a major work on Arabic grammar entitled al-Khaṣā'is. EI<sup>2</sup> 3:754.

<sup>27</sup>The technical term `amal "regency" is used by the Arab grammarians to describe the abstract relationship between regents and governed words and the act of governing.

of anything else."<sup>28</sup>

He stressed "the speaker himself" in order to assert the concept, and then he reinforced (his assertion) by saying, "not of anything else." This is the language of the Mu'tazilites.<sup>29</sup> According to the people of the truth, these sounds are the work of God, Most High, but they are attributed to man as are all of man's other acts of free will.

The statement that utterances (alfāz) cause one another is invalid intellectually and in jurisprudence. No intelligent person would make such a statement for reasons which would take too long to mention here where the purpose is to be concise. These reasons include the condition that the actor must be present when he commits his act, whereas desinential inflection does not occur until after the absence of the regent. "Zayd" is not accusative after the particle inna in the statement inna zaydan "Verily, Zayd..." until after the absence of inna.

If asked, "How does one respond to someone who believes that the meanings of these utterances are the regents?",

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<sup>28</sup>Abū l-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān Ibn Jinnī, al-Khaṣā'is, ed. Muḥammad A. al-Najjār, Cairo, 1952, 1:109-10.

<sup>29</sup>The Mu'tazilites, who flourished in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries under the Abbasid caliphate, constitute the most famous school of religious thought in Islam. In general rationalistic, they held the view that predestination posed a danger to Islam and that the Qur'ān was created. Mu'tazilite grammarians supported the view that the speaker is responsible for desinential inflection.

the response is that an agent, among those who adhere to the concept, can either be an agent by volition such as a living creature, or by nature as when fire burns or water cools. There is no agent but God in the view of the people of truth. An act of man and all living creatures is an act of God. This is true with respect to water and fire, as well as other things which act. This has been demonstrated elsewhere. With respect to grammatical regents, no rational being ascribes action to either the expressible or the abstract (regents) because they act neither by volition nor by nature.

If it is said:

What they have said in this regard is for purposes of comparison and approximation, because when these utterances, to which they have ascribed action are removed, the act of grammatical inflection attributed to them is absent. When they are present, inflection is present. The same is true of causative reasons (al-`ilal al-fā`ila)<sup>30</sup> among those who speak of them,

the response should be that had rendering them grammatical regents not driven them to changing the speech of the Arabs, to reducing it from the level of eloquence to base muttering, to claiming a deficiency in that which is perfect, and to distorting meanings from that which is intended, they would have been permitted to do so. But following them

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<sup>30</sup>This concept of grammatical causality is adapted from Aristotle's theory of causality. The efficient cause (`illa fā`ila) is that which produces change in a material cause, as the sculptor (efficient) produces change in marble (material) to create a statue (formal cause) which is a beautiful object (final cause).

to the extent of believing that utterances are grammatical regents cannot be permitted.

### Abolishing the Concepts of Deletion and Suppletive Insertion

Know that there are three categories of deleted words in their profession. (The first is that wherein) the deleted word is essential to the utterance, but it is deleted because the person addressed has knowledge of it, as when you say to someone giving things to people, zaydan "Zayd" meaning a`ṭi zaydan "give to Zayd." The word a`ṭi "give" is deleted although it is intended.<sup>31</sup> If it is articulated, the utterance becomes thereby complete. Akin to it is the saying of God, Most High:

wa-'idhā qīlā lahum, mādhā 'anzala rabbukum, qālū:  
khayran

"When it is said to them, 'What is it that your Lord has revealed?' they say, 'All that is good.'" <sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>The technical term for supplying the missing word is tagdir "suppletive insertion" which expresses a concept similar to that of positing underlying structure, be it phonetic or syntactic, in modern transformational linguistics. The noun ʿaṣan "stick," for example, has the formal shape of the accusative ending -an, but is nonetheless nominative. The implied form of the word is \*ʿasawun. The object of implication is the muḍmar or suppressed element which is contrasted with those elements on the surface of the sentence termed lafẓī "expressed" or ẓāhir "external." Wright, 1:246b.

<sup>32</sup>The citation is misquoted by Ibn Maḍā' who has confused the following two similar verses from the Qur'ān: 16:24, which reads wa-'idhā qīlā lahum, mādhā 'anzala rabbukum, qālū: asāṭiru l-awwalīna, and 16:30, which reads wa-qīla li-lladhīna ttaḡaw mādhā 'anzala rabbukum, qālū: khayran.

and the saying of God, Most High:

wa-yas'alūnaka mādhā yunfiqūn, qul il-'afwa

"They ask thee how much they are to spend; Say: what is beyond your needs."<sup>33</sup>

It is the same for those who read (il-'afwa) accusative or nominative; and the saying of God, Most Powerful and Exalted:

nāqata llāhi wa-suqyāhā

"A she-camel of God! and (bar her not from) having her drink!"<sup>34</sup>

The Book of God, Most High, contains many instances of deletion (where) those being addressed have knowledge of (the deleted element). When (the deleted elements) are articulated, the utterance is complete, but deletion is briefer and more eloquent.

The second (type) of deleted word is that which need not be expressed, since (the expression) is complete without it, and if it occurs it constitutes faulty speech, as when you say:

a zaydan ḍarabtahu?

"Zayd; did you hit him?"

(The grammarians) say that "Zayd" is an object of a suppressed

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<sup>33</sup>Qur'an 2:219.

<sup>34</sup>Qur'an 91:13.



verb (mudmar),<sup>35</sup> implied as:

a darabta zaydan

"Did you hit Zayd?"

This is an assertion lacking evidence except for their claim that darabta "you hit" is a transitive verb acting on one object (only), and it has acted on the pronoun (-hu) "him." (The grammarians assert that) Zayd must have a regent rendering it accusative (nāṣib),<sup>36</sup> which if not expressed, must be implied. It is not expressed, therefore nothing remains but (to consider it) suppressed.

This is based on (the principle that) every accusative word must have a regent rendering it accusative. How I wish I knew what (word) they suppress in their saying:

a zaydan mararta bi-ghulāmihi?

"Zayd; did you pass by his servant?"

No matter what one of us may conjecture, he will never come across (the word) which is suppressed. The utterance is complete and understood. There is no need for this casuistry except for the principle that "every accusative

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<sup>35</sup>The technical term mudmar "suppressed" refers to any element which is suppressed but must be implied if the grammarian is to account for an otherwise unexplainable grammatical feature, such as the accusative ending on Zayd in this example. See above, n.31.

<sup>36</sup>The technical term nāṣib refers to subjunctive particles and verbs or other grammatical structures which render the noun accusative. These accusative and subjunctive regents will be referred to simply as "regents" where the text is otherwise clear.

word must have a regent making it accusative." This is the second type.

The third category (of deletion) is that of a suppressed word, which when expressed, changes the utterance from what it was previously, as for example, when we say yā 'abdallāhi "Oh, 'Abdallah!" and others of the province of vocative compound noun phrases and indeterminate vocatives of the province of 'abdallāhi. According to (the grammarians), 'Abdallah is accusative due to a suppressed verb considered to be ad'u "I call" or unādī "I call." If this (verb) is revealed, the meaning changes and the vocative phrase becomes a predicate. This is also the case for the subjunctive of wāw or fā'. They render the verbs which occur after these particles in the subjunctive mood by the particle an. They equate an plus the verb with the verbal noun. They change the verbs occurring before these particles to verbal nouns, and they conjoin verbal nouns to verbal nouns with these particles. When all of this is done, the meaning of the first utterance is no longer preserved.

Do you not see that to say:

mā ta'tīnā fa-tuhaddithanā

"You come not to us and you speak to us."

has two meanings. One of them is:

mā ta'tīnā fa-kayfa tuhaddithunā

"You do not come to us, so how can you speak to us?"

which is to say that the act of speaking must be accompanied

by the act of coming. If there is no coming there can be no speaking. In the same way, it is said:

mā tadrusu fa-tahfaza

"You do not study, and you memorize?"

meaning that studying causes memorization. If there is no studying, there is no memorization. The other meaning is:

mā ta'tīnā muḥaddithan

"You do not come to us speaking."

that is, you come to us but you do not speak. They unanimously consider the two interpretations to be equivalent to:

mā yakūnu minka 'ityānun fa-ḥadīthun

"There is no coming and speaking from you."

This utterance renders neither of the two meanings.

These suppressed (words) which cannot be shown must be nonexistent in the utterance, while the meanings are present in the mind of the speaker, or nonexistent in the mind, just as the words indicating them are nonexistent in the utterance. If the suppressed words have no existence in the mind, and if the spoken words which indicate them have no existence in the utterance, what is it then that renders (verbs) subjunctive and (nouns) accusative? And what is it that is suppressed? The attribution of grammatical regency to something which is absolutely nonexistent is impossible.

If it is stated that the meanings of these deleted

words exist in the mind of the speaker, and that through them the utterance becomes complete, and that they are a part of speech which exists in the mind, indicated by words, but that the words so indicating have been deleted for the purpose of succinctness, just as those words which may appear (expressed) in the sentence have been omitted for the purpose of succinctness, (then) the utterance must be deficient and not be complete without it, because they are a part of it. Thus we have added to the speech of the speakers that which they have not said. We have been led to this (conclusion) only by the claim that every accusative or subjunctive word must have an expressible regent rendering it so. The invalidating of this notion is now finished with certainty.

To allege the augmentation of the speech of speakers without any supporting evidence is a clear error, but no punishment attaches thereto. However, making this assertion with respect to the Book of God, Most High, Who cannot be approached by falsehood from in front or from behind, and claiming extra meanings in it, without grounds or evidence except for the statement that a subjunctive verb or accusative noun (mansub)<sup>37</sup> is so rendered only by a regent, and (claiming) that the regent is a word indicating a meaning which is

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<sup>37</sup>The generic Arabic term mansub refers to the subjunctive verb and the accusative noun as a single grammatical class in terms of desinential inflection.

either spoken or deleted but intended, and that it indicates a meaning which exists in the mind, is a sin for whoever supposes this to say so.

The Messenger of God, upon whom be God's peace and prayer, said, "Whoever has given an opinion regarding the Qur'ān, even though correct, is nonetheless in error."

This statement imposes a prohibition, and that which is prohibited is a sin, unless there is an indication otherwise. Conjecture is that which is not based on evidence. (The Prophet), upon whom be God's peace and prayer, said, "Whoever has rendered an opinion about the Qur'ān not based on knowledge, may his chair be placed in Hellfire." This is a strong admonition. Whatever God has warned against doing is a sin. Whoever makes additions to the Qur'ān, whether by words or meaning, is mistaken and his falsity will be apparent. He will have spoken about the Qur'ān without knowledge, and the promised punishment will be directed against him. Evidence that this is a sin is the general consensus (ijmā') that no word can be added to the Qur'ān unless it is affirmed by unanimous consent. The adding of meaning is similar to that of adding words; indeed, it is even worse, since meaning is the (ultimate) intent. Words are indicators of, and for the purpose of, meaning.

Invalidity of Consensus

If it is stated that the grammarians have unanimously agreed on (the matter of) grammatical regents, even though they differ (on specifics), some saying that the regent in this case is thus and so, while others say it is not this, but it is something else, as we will demonstrate further on, God willing, then we say the agreement of the grammarians is not an adequate argument against those who disagree with them. One of the greatest of them, a foremost master of the profession, Abū l-Faṭḥ Ibn Jinnī stated in al-Khaṣā'is,<sup>38</sup>

Know that the consensus of the two communities<sup>39</sup> is conclusive argument if your opponent has given his hand (i.e., agreed with you) that he will not disagree with what has been stipulated or that which is analogous thereto. If he has not given you his hand in the matter, then their consensus is not a conclusive argument to him. This is because (the consensus) has not originated with those whose order is to be obeyed in matters of the Qur'ān or Sunna. These (latter) do not agree unanimously on an error. This conforms with the statement of the Messenger of God, upon whom be God's peace and prayer, who said, "My community does not agree unanimously on an error." But the science (of grammar) is drawn from an investigation of this language. Anyone who holds a differing view for a correct reason or a clearly better method (of analysis) is his own

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<sup>38</sup>Al-Khaṣā'is, 1:189-92.

<sup>39</sup>The cities of Basra and Kufa, referring to the famous schools of grammar that each produced.

Khalīl<sup>40</sup> [and his thought's Abū `Amr].<sup>41</sup>

However, despite what we have seen and the practice we have sanctioned (above), we do not permit him to proceed to disagreement with the general consensus (resulting from) long research and prior study, wherein conclusions follow principles, and the hindquarters follow the forequarters. (Likewise, we do not permit disagreement with) the people whom God, may He be praised and His attributes be sanctified, without a doubt has guided to knowledge, and given the wisdom to welcome and enhance this knowledge, and provide it with their blessings and pious deeds in service to the Revealed Book and the words of His prophet, and as a help in understanding the two and in knowing what has been commanded, or (knowing that which is) forbidden to man and the jinns until after they are able to understand and affirm them with mastery and knowledge and not rely on the first thought that jumps to the fore or comes to mind. If man follows this example and carefully scrutinizes the various aspects of a situation, he will come to the view which God has shown him, without having to struggle or belittle his predecessors, may God have mercy on them, in any way. If he does this, his opinion will be rightly guided, and his mind will be pleased. There is satisfaction in being correct, and there is a proper place to find success.

Abū `Uthmān `Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ<sup>42</sup> said, "There is nothing more harmful to people than when they say 'Predecessors left nothing to those who came after them.'"

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<sup>40</sup>Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, the famous 2nd/9th century grammarian and author of the earliest Arabic lexicon, Kitāb al-`ayn, teacher of Sībawayh, and founder of Arabic prosody.

<sup>41</sup>Abū `Amr b. Zubān b. al-`Alā' al-Māzinī (d. 862/248-9?) a Mekkan, who died in Kufa. A leading Basra grammarian, he taught al-Mubarrad. The correct reading is added from al-Khaṣā'is in square brackets. Several minor divergences from al-Khaṣā'is occur throughout this quote.

<sup>42</sup>Al-Jāḥiẓ, b. circa 160/776 in Basra, d. 255/868 or 869, probably of Abyssinian origin, was one of the most productive and wide-ranging scholars of the early Islamic period. His writings include, al-Ḥayawān on animals, al-Bayān wal-tabyīn on rhetoric, and al-Bukhālā' on the ways of the people of his time. EI<sup>2</sup> 2:385-86.

Abū `Uthmān al-Māzinī<sup>43</sup> said, "When a scholar makes a statement of long tradition, his student should be guided by it, defend it and argue against anything contrary to it if there is any way to do so."

Al-Ṭā'ī al-Kabīr<sup>44</sup> said, "He whose ears you strike says, 'How much has the first (man) left for the last?'"

One area of dispute I see where there has been a consensus from the inception of this science until the present time is in their phrase, hādha juhru dabbin kharibin "This is a destroyed lizard's den." This phrase is treated from last to first, from consequence to antecedent, although it is a solecism of the Arabs. They do not differ about it nor refrain from (using) it, even though it is irregular, and cannot be justified or used as a justification. As for myself, I am of the opinion that a similar situation exists in the Qur'ān in more than one thousand places.

The author (Ibn Maḍā'), may God be pleased with him, stated "I have ended the text of his statement here, because (my view) coincides with it. I then discussed at length (the points at which) I disagreed with him, since (on that matter) I was unable to be brief. However, I quoted the foregoing passage following the convention of those who are accustomed to doing so."

The practice of the community (of grammarians) concerning the Arab saying:

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<sup>43</sup>Abū `Uthmān Bakr al-Māzinī (d.248 or 249/862) was a leading Basran grammarian whose students included al-Mubarrad.

<sup>44</sup>Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws , b. 188-190/804-806 in Jāsīm between Damascus and Tiberius, d. 231/845 or 232/846 in Mosul, was a poet and anthologist who invented a pedigree for himself from the Ṭayyi' tribe, hence: al-Ṭā'ī al-Kabīr. His poetry, satire and panegyrics, fluctuates substantially in terms of quality and is marked by artificial sentence constructions and strange words. Et<sup>2</sup> 1:153-54.



hādhā juḥru ḍabbin kharibin

"This is a destroyed lizard's den."

is as he stated. Abū l-Faṭḥ chose (to analyze) it as deletion of the prefixed noun (mudāf),<sup>45</sup> with the postfixed noun (mudāf ilayhi) taking its place, and said that the Qur'ān has over one thousand (such) instances. He considers it equivalent to:

hādhā juḥru ḍabbin kharibin juḥruhu

"This is the den of a lizard, destroyed (in terms of) his den."

since kharib "destroyed" describes lizard.

Likewise, it is said:

hādhā farasu `arabiyyin qāriḥin farasuhu

"This is the horse of an Arab whose horse's eyeteeth have appeared."

(The adjective) qāriḥin "having eyeteeth which have appeared" is a quality by which `arabiyyin "an Arab" is described, even though it applies to farasu "a horse" because it is a term related to horses.

(The word) juḥru "den" (of juḥruhu), which is the prefixed noun, is deleted. It is a nominative agent. The postfixed noun (-hu "his" of juḥruhu) has taken its place. It is the (unexpressed) pronoun replacing juḥr

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<sup>45</sup>The technical term mudāf "prefixed noun" is the first term of a noun-noun construction which governs the following noun in the genitive case. The mudāf ilayhi "postfixed noun" is the second term of a noun-noun construction. Wright 1:108c; 2:66b, 119c, 198b, 200a, 201b.

and referring back to dabb "lizard." According to him it is nominative because of kharib "destroyed."

When the pronoun is the agent in the active participle or the active-participle-like adjectives, it is hidden in them according to their school of thought. Deleting the prefixed noun and leaving the postfixed noun in its place is a regular (principle). Concealment of the pronoun in the adjective is a regular (principle).

However, one could respond to Abū l-Faṭḥ that deleting the prefixed noun is impermissible except in situations where the one being addressed has prior understanding of what is intended by the utterance, as when God, Most High, said:

wa-s'al il-qaryata llati kunnā fihā wal-'ira llati  
'aqbalnā fihā

"Ask at the town where we have been and the caravan in which we returned."<sup>46</sup>

But in situations where knowledge of the deleted word requires extensive contemplation and thought, deletion is not permitted because of the confusion this causes the hearers. This (lizard den example) is one of those remote situations. Evidence thereof is that this utterance has been heard by people knowledgeable and understanding in grammar and language, and they have been unable to determine the deleted

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<sup>46</sup>Qur'ān, 12:82. In this example, it is not the town itself which is to be asked the question, but the ahl "people" of the town. Sībawayh 1:212.

word, because when it is explicit (in the sentence), it is objectionable. Were the Arabs to say hādha juḥru ḍabbin kharibin juḥruhu, it would be objectionable because it is an ungrammatical statement which can be avoided by (placing) a nominative marker (ḍamma)<sup>47</sup> on the bā' (of kharib), thereby rendering the statement concise and correct. Although this is the original form, it was then subjected to such casuistry by a word deletion which is still not understood, that it is now far removed. Moreover, if the postfixed noun was expressed, it would be clearer. But the prefixed noun has been deleted, and the postfixed noun is concealed, hence it is incomprehensible. Understanding (the sentence) with all of this deletion and concealment thus becomes an impossibility. Abū l-Faṭḥ permitted the refutation of anyone who might advance a notion that was not strong. How (much more appropriate) for us to do so as we refute weak notions with clear evidence which no fair person can doubt.

If it is said that when the grammarians claim that in their saying:

a zaydan 'akramtahu

"Did you honor Zayd?"

and in similar examples, they do not mean that akramta,

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<sup>47</sup>The ḍamma is the vowel /u/, the Arabic nominative case marker. When a ḍamma is placed on kharib "destroyed," the word modifies juḥr "den" rather than ḍabb "lizard."

which makes Zayd accusative,<sup>48</sup> was intended by the speaker, nor that the sentence is incomplete without it. Rather, it is an established convention by which one achieves speaking in the language of the Arabs, similar to what the geometers do when they draw physical lines, which are actually figures, on the locations of (imaginary) lines which are lengths having neither breadth nor depth, and (when they draw) dots, which are also figures, on the locations of terminal points having neither length, breadth nor depth, and when they postulate orbits and points in the heavens, and thereby prove what it is they mean. The superimposing of these (formal lines and dots) on those did not nullify what they meant, but rather enabled those learning this field to understand as they learned to place these (formal lines and dots) for those. The response is that the grammarians are not like the geometers, for they have said, "Every accusative noun and subjunctive verb must have an expressible regent."

If they render these deleted words, which cannot be shown (in the spoken sentence), absolutely nonexistent in verbal act and intent, and the utterance is complete without them, they have nullified what they have claimed, namely that every accusative noun and subjunctive verb

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<sup>48</sup>The akramta meant here is not the one in the sentence example, but the deleted akramta which is implied to precede zayd in the underlying sentence.

must have a regent. Moreover, placing formal (lines and dots) in place of geometrical lines and dots is an approximation and an aid to the learner, (whereas) placing these regents contains none of this and is mere guessing and conjecture.

#### Abolishing Implied Words in Prepositional Phrases

A similar example of suppressed (words) which cannot be revealed (in the sentence) is their claim with respect to prepositional phrases which are predicates (khavar), syndetic relative clauses (ṣila), adjectives (ṣifa)<sup>49</sup> or circumstantials (ḥāl) such as:

zaydun fī d-dār

"Zayd is in the house."

ra'aytu lladhī fī d-dār

"I saw who is in the house."

marartu bi-rajulin min quraysh

"I passed by a man of the Quraysh."

ra'a zaydun fī d-dāri l-hilāla fī s-samā'

"Zayd, in the house, saw the crescent moon in the sky."

The grammarians claim that fī d-dāri "in the house" is appended to a deleted word postulated as mustaqirrun "located," hence:

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<sup>49</sup>The word "adjectives" (ṣifāt) is missing in al-Bannā, p. 79, but included in Dayf, p. 99. We have adhered to the Dayf reading since the use of ṣifāt is included in Ibn Maḍā's examples.

zaydun mustaqirrun fī d-dār

"Zayd is located in the house."

Their reason for this is the (principle) they set down (stipulating) that if the prepositions of prepositional phrases are not extra,<sup>50</sup> there must be a regent operating thereon, if not overt, as when we say:

zaydun qā'imun fī d-dār

"Zayd exists in the house."

then suppressed, as when we say:

zaydun fī d-dār

"Zayd is (i.e., exists) in the house."

Without doubt, this is a complete sentence consisting of two nouns indicating two meanings with a relationship between the two indicated by the preposition fī "in." There is no need for us to go beyond that.

Likewise, they say that:

ra'aytu lladhī fī d-dār

"I saw who is in the house."

is to be considered:

ra'aytu lladhī staqarra fī d-dār

"I saw who was located in the house."

Likewise:

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<sup>50</sup>That is to say, if the prepositional phrase is the predicate of an equational sentence or functions as a ṣila, ṣifa or ḥāl.

marartu bi-rajulin min quraysh

"I passed by a man from Quraysh."

is to be considered:

kā'inin min quraysh

"being from Quraysh."

Likewise:

ra'aytu fī d-dāri l-hilāla fī s-samā'

"I saw in the house the crescent moon in the sky."

is to be considered:

kā'inan fī s-samā'

"being in the sky."

Each of these is a complete sentence the hearer of which needs nothing additional, neither "being" nor "located." When the concept of the regent and grammatical regency is nullified, no uncertainty can remain among those claiming this suppression.

#### Abolishing Latent Pronouns in Adjectival Derivatives

Running a similar course is their claim that active (fā'il) and passive (maf'ūl) participles, and (words) which deviate from, but are similar to, active participles and the like, contain pronouns which they render in the nominative case. This is so when expressed nouns are not made nominative by them. Examples (include) dārib "beating/beater," maḍrūb "beaten," darrāb "beating/beater," ḥasan "handsome," and the like.

They say, "The participles make the expressed noun

nominative," as when we say:

zaydun dāribun 'abūhu 'amran

"Zayd; his father is beating 'Amr."

If it makes the expressed noun nominative, it is more suitable that it makes the latent pronoun nominative. That it makes the expressed noun nominative is nullified because of the nullification of the regent. Hence, dārib "beating/ beater" indicates two meanings. It indicates the action of beating and the unspecified agent doing the beating. If we say:

zaydun dāribun 'amran

"Zayd is beating 'Amr."

dāribun refers to an unspecified agent, and "Zayd" provides his name. I wish I knew why we need to postulate anything additional. Were it expressed, it would be redundant.

Should it be said, "The proof that it exists is that it appears in some places, as when there is conjunction when we say:

zaydun dāribun huwa wa-bakrun 'amran

"Zayd is beating, he and Bakr, 'Amr."

(and) likewise, the Arabs have been heard to say:

marartu bi-qawmin 'arabin ajma'un

"I passed by a group of Arabs, all of them."

Were there no nominative pronoun in the word 'arabin, 'Arabs,' it would not be possible to make ajma'un 'all of them' nominative." The response is, "The grammarians say that



this pronoun which appears is not the agent of dārib. The agent of dārib is suppressed and the expressed (pronoun) is in intensifying apposition to it. 'Bakr' is conjoined with the latent pronoun, not with that which appears."

If, as the grammarians claim, it is correct that the expressed pronoun is in intensifying apposition to another pronoun, suppressed but intended, unexpressed verbally, and that "Bakr" is conjoined to it, the response should be that this pronoun is suppressed only in cases of conjunction and nowhere else. If there is no conjunction, there is no pronoun. How can you consider non-conjoined usage analogous to that of conjunctions, and make the instance of conjunction, despite its infrequency, the prototype of other (types of sentence structures) occurring with great frequency? The speaker does not intend (to use) the pronoun unless there is a conjunction. If there is no conjunction, he does not do so. Is making an analogy between the two anything more than conjecture? How can conjecture prove something which is not needed, and in which the listener has no benefit? There is no need for the speaker to prove it. Doing so is faulty speech, since the derived adjective is an assertion of the characteristic and the unspecified possessor of that characteristic. The pronoun is likewise since it is the unspecified possessor of the characteristic. The notion of the conjunction analogy is invalidated by the fact that these adjectives have no pronoun (marker) in

the case of the dual and the plural as does the verb. This notion of invalidity counters that notion of proof. Hence, there is no evidence for confirming it, neither absolute nor hypothetical. Confirming it in human speech without absolute evidence is impermissible, and how much more so with respect to the Book of God, Most High, and alleging additions to it on the basis of conjecture. Conjecture is not knowledge because it can be countered with alternative conjecture. The tradition which contains a warning relating thereto has been cited previously.

This is also true for this citation from their speech:

marartu bi-qawmin `arabin ajma`un

"I passed by a group of Arabs, all of them."

and:

marartu bi-qā'in `arfajin kulluhu

"I crossed a plain (filled with) the `arfaj-plant, all of it."

The word `arab "Arabs" is known to be a noun established for a meaning by which they are distinguished from foreigners. If you say:

marartu bi-qawmin `arabin

"I passed by a group of Arabs."

the sentence is complete, since you have given an adjective and the word it modifies. If you provide a pronoun (to the sentence), it adds no additional meaning. Their saying ajma`un "all of them" is an anomaly. Were we to grant that it is in intensifying apposition to a suppressed pronoun,

how is it determined that this pronoun is desired with intensifying apposition and without it? If there is no intensifying apposition, the speaker has no need of it. Making an analogy of one for the other is conjecture which cannot prove such a case, particularly with respect to the Book of God, Most High.

Should it be said that on this (basis) nothing can be established in language through conjecture, the response should be that that for which there is no need can be proven only through an absolute proof. However, that for which there is a need, such as the words of language, will be accepted if they are related by reliable authorities, even if conjectured. The same is true of other things for which there is a need.

#### Abolishing Latent Pronouns in Verbs

Should it be asked, "What do you have to say regarding a sentence such as:

zaydun qāma

"Zayd stood up."<sup>51</sup>

since they say that the verb qāma 'stood up' has an agent pronoun?"

There is no justification for that except that the grammarians have said that the agent cannot precede the

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<sup>51</sup>The question refers to nominal sentences having a verb as predicate.

verb, and the verb must have an agent.<sup>52</sup> This statement of theirs must be either demonstrable or conjecture. If it is conjecture, then the matter is the same as that of the pronoun claimed to exist in the active participle. If it is demonstrable, then (postulating) the latent pronoun is correct.

Before discussing this subject, we must set out the premises which will aid the observer in (understanding) what we propose to demonstrate. There are two types of semantic indicators (dalāla): an (explicit) verbal semantic indicator intended by the creator (of the term), such as a noun's reference to the thing named or a verb's reference to an action and time; and an inferred semantic indicator, such as a roof which implies a wall, and the transitive verb which implies an object complement and a place. Whether or not (the transitive verb) indicates an agent is a matter of dispute among people. Some hold the view that it does so in the same way that it indicates action and time. Others hold the view that it does so in the same way it indicates the object complement.

Should it be said "(In the sentence),

zaydun qāma

"Zayd stood up."

the word qāma 'stood up' refers explicitly to the agent,"

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<sup>52</sup>Basra school only. See al-Bannā, p. 81, n.2.

then no (pronoun) need be suppressed since it would be redundant and of no benefit, just as in the case of the active participle which (is a term) established to refer to (both) the agent and the action. Accordingly, the verb refers to three things, even though the reference to (Zayd) is one of inference and implication.

There are two possibilities here. The first is that a pronoun is not expressly indicated because the person addressed has knowledge of it. The evidence of this is in their utterances in the dual qāmā and yaqūmāni "They (two) rose/rise" and the plural qāmū and yaqūmūna "They rose/rise" where these pronouns are expressly indicated.

Should it be asked, "Why do you deny that the (letters) alif and wāw are markers of the dual and the plural, as in the sentence:

akalūnī l-barāghīthu

"The fleas have devoured me."

Some Arabs place the two (letters) with (the verb) before (the agent) and after, but most of them do so (only) with the verb following the agent, just as the tā' of feminization is required when the verb follows an agent which is tropically (ghayr haqiqī) feminine. The (tā' of feminization) is not required when (the verb) comes first, and it is not deleted when the verb follows (its agent) except in poetry as when someone said:

fa-lā muznatun wadaqat wadqahā

wa-lā 'arḍa 'abqala 'ibqālahā

"Not a cloud has rained as it did / and no land produced herbs as it did."<sup>53</sup>

If it is asked, "What do you do with their saying:

anta qumta wa-'anā qumtu

"You stood up and I stood up."

where preposing the agent does not remove the necessity of repeating it after (the verb)?"

The response is that this is a proof, but considering the third person as analogous to the second person and the first person is not an absolute (proof). Perhaps having (the preposed free pronoun) in the third person is sufficient, but it is not sufficient in other instances.

If it is asked, "What is correct regarding the verb indicating the agent?" the response is that it is most clear that the verb indicates the agent explicitly. Do you not see you know from the ya- of ya'lamu "he knows" that the agent is third person masculine singular, and from the a- of a'lamu "I know" that it is first person singular, and from the nūn in na'lamu "we know" that it is first person plural, and from the ta- of ta'lamu "you/she

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<sup>53</sup>Amir b. Juwayn al-Ṭā'ī is a Mukhadram poet, noted horseman and chieftain who at one time gave sanctuary to Imru' al-Qays. He is said to have been slain at the age of 200 years by men of the Banu Kalb he had captured during a raid. Baghdādī 1:53-54. For verse see Howell 3:62; Sīrafī 1:557; Sibawayh 2:46.

knows" that it is second person masculine singular or third person feminine singular where a sharing (of forms) has occurred. Sharing also occurs in the word ya`lamu "he knows/will know" and similar words with respect to present and future. You know from the word `alima "he knew" that the agent is third person masculine singular. In this way, there is no pronoun since the verb indicates it explicitly, just as it expresses time. We have no need to suppress (it). With respect to the other view, it is clear that there is no suppression (as shown in) the preceding (discussion).

Grammarians differentiate between idmār "suppression" and ḥadhf "deletion." They, I mean the best versed of them, say, "The agent can be suppressed but it cannot be deleted." When by a suppressed word, they mean one which is indispensable, and by a deleted word they mean one which may be dispensed with, they say, "This is made accusative by a suppressed<sup>54</sup> verb which cannot be expressed. There has to be a verb having this characteristic. The sentence cannot be complete without it. It is the regent, and there can be no accusative noun without it."

If by the suppressible word they mean the nouns, and

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<sup>54</sup>Al-Bannā, p. 83, n.2, states that this should read "deleted" verb because otherwise it does not prove the point he wishes to make regarding the distinction between suppression and deletion, namely that deletions can never be shown on the surface of the sentence.

if by the deleted word they mean the verbs, and (assert) that deletion occurs only in verbs and in sentences, not in nouns, then they (analyze) our sentence:

alladhī darabtu zaydun

"Who I hit was Zayd."

as (having) a deleted direct object considered to be the hu "him" of darabtu "I hit him."

If one distinguishes between the two on the basis (that one term stands for) what the speaker most certainly intended (while the other term stands for) what it is thought the speaker intended, but may not have, this is a (permissible) distinction. However, the grammarians' application of these two terms does not correspond to this distinction. In the example:

zaydun qāma

"Zayd stood up."

one's view must be that the speaker may wish to repeat the agent or he may be satisfied with the preceding (noun). It is clear that he should be satisfied with the preceding (noun). This (is the case) when (discussing) the speech of people. As for the speech of the Creator, may He be praised, one must refrain from either affirming it or denying it, since there is no absolute proof. There is no need for us to venture an opinion as to what can be proved or disproved.



### Concerning Grammar Without Regency

Should it be said, "You have invalidated the (concept of) regent and the governed word in speech; now show me how this can lead to achieving the purpose of grammar."

I respond, "I (will) show you this in chapters which deal with these subjects in a more correct way." I have begun a book that contains all the chapters of grammar. If God, Most High, allows me to finish it, the reader unhampered by tradition will gain benefit from it. If I do not finish it, then let the following chapters serve as a guide to others.

### Conflict with Respect to Government

One of these chapters is "Regarding two agent/object complements, each of which does to its agent as the other does, and the like."<sup>55</sup> This is Sībawayh's designation, may God have mercy on him. In this chapter I do not contradict the grammarians except to use the term 'allagtu "I (considered as) appended" rather than saying a'maltu "I (considered as) governed." Appendancy is used by the grammarians for

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<sup>55</sup>Sībawayh 1:73. Al-Bannā, p. 85, n.2, prefers the reading "agent/ object complements" found in this manuscript to "agent and object complements" which is found in Sībawayh. I would like to offer a third alternative based on the examples which follow in Sībawayh, namely that the reading is correct in Sībawayh and should be punctuated and translated as follows: bāb al-fā'ilayn, wal-maf'ūlayn illadhayni kullu wāhidin minhumā yaf'alu bi-fā'ilihi mithla mā yaf'alu bihi l-'ākharu. In English, "the chapter of the two agents, and the two object complements which do to (their agents) exactly what the (agents) do to them...."

genitive constructions. I use it for genitive constructions and for the two agents and the two object complements.

You say:

qāma wa-qa`ada zaydun

"Zayd stood up and sat down."

If (you consider) Zayd appended to the second verb, there is a dispute among the grammarians on this. Al-Farrā'<sup>56</sup> does not permit it, whereas al-Kisā'i<sup>57</sup> does permit it by deletion of the agent, and others permit it by suppression which is explained by a subsequent (utterance). An indication that it is a permitted (suppression explained by a subsequent utterance) is in the words of the poet:<sup>58</sup>

wa-kumtan mudammātan ka-'anna mutūnahā

jarā fawqahā wa-stash`arat lawna mudhhabī

"And blood-red chestnut horses with backs, running over with, and distinguished by, the color of gold."<sup>59</sup>

The word jarā "running over with" has no expressed agent. The agent is either deleted or suppressed. One

<sup>56</sup>Yahyā b. Ziyād al-Farrā' al-Aslamī al-Daylamī, b. circa 144/761 in Kufa, d. 207/822, was a leader of the Kufan school of grammar and a student of al-Kisā'i. EI<sup>2</sup> 2:806-08.

<sup>57</sup>Alī b. Ḥamza al-Kisā'i, born in Kufa, d. between 179/795-197/813, probably 189/805, was dean of the Kufan grammarians of his time. He studied in Basra with al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad who sent him into the desert to study the language of the Arabs. EI<sup>1</sup> 2:1036-37.

<sup>58</sup>Tufayl b. `Awf al-Ghanawī was a Jāhili poet, contemporary with al-Nābiga al-Dhubyānī, frequently referred to as Tufayl al-Khayl because he so often described horses.

<sup>59</sup>Sibawayh 1:77; Sirāfi 1:182-83.

proof for it is in the words of God, Most High:

hattā tawārat bil-hijābi

"Until (the sun) was hidden in the veil (of night)."<sup>60</sup>

and His words:

`abasa wa-tawallā 'an jā'ahu l-'a'mā

"(The Prophet) frowned and turned away because there came to him a blind man (interrupting)."<sup>61</sup>

These verbs have no expressed agents. As to which of the two views is more correct, it is the view of al-Kisā'ī, because others (also) say that deletion of the agent is impermissible because the agent and the verb are like a single entity, each requiring the other. Hence deletion of the verb while the agent remains is impermissible, but they permit it.

Proof of the correctness of the school of al-Kisā'ī is the citation from 'Alqama:<sup>62</sup>

ta'affaga bil-'artā lahā wa-'arādahā

rijālun fa-badhhat nablāhum wa-kalību

"Men hid behind the artā-tree, and were intent upon

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<sup>60</sup>Qur'ān 38:32.

<sup>61</sup>Qur'ān, 80:1-2.

<sup>62</sup>'Alqama b. 'Abada b. al-Nu'mān was an early Arab poet active in the first half of the 6th century A.D. The ode from which this citation is taken refers to the battle of 'Ayn Ubāgh in June 554 A.D. Baghdādī 3:282-83; EI<sup>2</sup> 1:405.

her; yet she beat their arrows and dogs."<sup>63</sup>

If you append "Zayd" to the first verb, in the dual you will say:

qāma wa-qa`adā z-zaydāni

"The two Zayds stood and sat down."

and in the plural:

qāma wa-qa`adū z-zaydūna

"The Zayds stood and sat down."

you will say:

marartu wa-marra bī zaydun

"I passed by (Zayd), and Zayd passed by me."

when you append "Zayd" to the word marra "he passed."

If you append it to the word marartu "I passed," you will say:

marartu wa-marra bī bi-zaydin

"I passed by Zayd, and he (Zayd) passed by me."

which is considered as:

marartu bi-zaydin

"I passed by Zayd."

and:

wa-marra bī

"He passed by me."

In the dual:

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<sup>63</sup>Lyall translates this verse: "They crouched by the arṭa-brake, the hunters, and thought to win a safe prey: but she escaped their shafts and pursuing hounds." Charles J. Lyall, The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt: An Anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes, Oxford, 1918, p. 330.

marartu wa-marra bī biz-zaydayni

"I passed by the two Zayds, and the two (Zayds) passed by me."

and in the plural:

marartu wa-marra bī biz-zaydīna

"I passed by the Zayds and they (Zayds) passed by me."

Assigning the appendancy to the second verb, you say:

marra bī wa-marartu bi-zaydin

"He (Zayd) passed by me, and I passed by Zayd."

This has the (same) variations as the previous case.

When the appendancy is assigned to the first verb:

marra bī wa-marartu bihi zaydun

"Zayd passed by me and I passed by him (Zayd)."

it is equivalent to:

marra bī zaydun wa-marartu bihi

"Zayd passed by me and I passed by him."

Assigning the appendancy to the second verb, you say:

ḍarabtu wa-ḍarabānī zaydun

"I hit (Zayd) and Zayd hit me."

which in the dual is:

ḍarabtu wa-ḍarabānī z-zaydāni

"I hit (the two Zayds) and the (two) Zayds hit me."

and in the plural:

ḍarabtu wa-ḍarabānī z-zaydūna

"I hit (the Zayds) and the Zayds hit me."

When assigning the appendancy to the first verb:

ḍarabtu wa-ḍarabānī zaydan

"I hit Zayd, and he (Zayd) hit me."

the dual is:

ḍarabtu wa-ḍarabānī z-zaydayni

"I hit the two Zayds and the two (Zayds) hit me."

and the plural is:

ḍarabtu wa-ḍarabūnī z-zaydīna

"I hit the Zayds and they (Zayds) hit me."

Assigning the appendancy to the second verb, God, Most High, said:

ātūnī 'ufrigh 'alayhi qitran

"Bring me, that I may pour over it, molten lead."<sup>64</sup>

The word qitran "molten lead" is the direct object of 'ufrigh "pour."

Assigning the appendancy to the first, the poet<sup>65</sup> said:

fa-radda 'alā l-fu'ādi hawan 'amīdan

wa-sū'ila law yubīnu lanā su'āla

wa-qad naqhnā bihā wa-narā 'uṣṣiran

bihā yaqtadnanā l-khuruda l-khidāla

(The old campsite) brought a consuming passion to heart / And questions were asked, as if questioning could provide us with an answer. We may linger there again and watch (the virgins) as the ages pass / as

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<sup>64</sup>Qur'an 18:96.

<sup>65</sup>Al-Marrār al-Asadī. The verse supports al-Farrā'.

the plump-legged virgins lead us off.<sup>66</sup>

Assigning appendancy to the second, al-Farazdaq said:<sup>67</sup>

wa-lākinna niṣfan law sababtu wa-sabbanī

banū `abdi shamsin min manāfin wa-hāshimi

"But listen when I curse, and they curse me, the sons of `Abd Shams, Manāf and Hāshim."<sup>68</sup>

Likewise, Tufayl al-Ghanawī said:

wa-kuntan mudammātan ka-'anna mutūnahā

jarā fawqahā wa-shtash`arat lawna mudhhabī

"And blood-red chestnut horses with backs, running over with, and distinguished by, the color of gold."

`Umar b. Abī Rabī'a,<sup>69</sup> assigning the appendancy to the first verb, said:

idhā hiya lam tastak bi-`ūdi 'arākatin

tunukhkhila fa-stākat bihi `ūdu 'ishīli

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<sup>66</sup>Sibawayh 1:77; and Sīrāfi 1:376-77 who has "rudda" passive.

<sup>67</sup>Tammām b. Ghālib al-Farazdaq, born in Yamama after 20/640, he died in Basra about 110/728 or 112/730. He is a famous satirist and panegyrist who duelled verbally with Jarīr and al-Akḥṭal for forty years. Like that of Jarīr, his poetry represents that "of the great nomads of Eastern Arabia at its height, at its moment of contact with big Iraqi cities." EI<sup>2</sup> 2:788-89.

<sup>68</sup>In this example, the second verb sabbanī "(They) cursed me" is made regent, hence its subject, banū "sons," is governed in the nominative case. Sibawayh 1:77; Sīrāfi 1:191.

<sup>69</sup>`Umar b. Abī Rabī'a (26/644-93/712 or 101/719) is considered the greatest Arab poet of erotic love. Born in Medina, he grew up in Mecca, and is the first Arab poet to concern himself with social activity of urban life. His poetry is considered by some to be too simple to be suitable for grammatical study. EI<sup>1</sup> 3:979; Baghdādī 2:32-54.

"Were she not to brush her teeth with a twig from the arāka-shrub she would select, and brush her teeth with, a twig from the ishil-shrub."<sup>70</sup>

(Assigning appendancy to the second) you say:

a`ṭaytu wa-`a`ṭānī zaydun dirhaman

"I gave (Zayd), and Zayd gave me, a dirham."

[Assigning the appendancy to the first:

a`ṭaytu wa-`a`ṭānīhi zaydan dirhaman

"I gave Zayd, and he (Zayd) gave me, a dirham."]<sup>71</sup>

(Assigning appendancy to the second) you say:

zanantu wa-zannanī zaydun shākhiṣan

"I thought (Zayd was), and Zayd thought I was, returning."

Assigning the appendancy to the first:

zanantu wa-zannanīhi zaydan shākhiṣan

"I thought Zayd was, and he thought I was, returning."

In the dual:

zanantu wa-zannānī shākhiṣan iz-zaydayni shākhiṣayni

"I thought the two Zayds were, and they thought I was, returning."

In the plural:

zanantu wa-zannūnī shākhiṣan iz-zaydīna shākhiṣīna

"I thought the Zayds were, and they thought I was,

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<sup>70</sup>This verse is mistakenly attributed to `Umar b. Abī Rabi`a by Sibawayh and Ibn Maḍā'. Later scholarship has confirmed it should be attributed to Tufayl al-Ghanawī. Sirāfi 1:188, n.1. Both al-Bannā, p. 89, and Dayf, p. 97, attribute it to `Umar b. Abī Rabi`a. Al-Bannā erroneously has idrākatin for arākitin. The example illustrates that the first verb tunukkhila "it was selected" governs `ud ishīl "twig from the ishīl-shrub" in the nominative. Sibawayh 1:78.

<sup>71</sup>Missing in al-Bannā.



returning."

This is equivalent to:

zanantu z-zaydīna shākhiṣīna wa-ḡannūnī shākhiṣan

"I thought the Zayds were returning, and they thought I was returning."

You did not make shākhiṣan "returning" plural because the second object complement of these verbs is a correlative of the first object complement. You did not pronominalize it because the singular pronoun cannot refer to the dual.

If you say:

zanantu wa-ḡannānā

"I thought (they two) were, and they two thought we (two) were...."

you make shākhiṣan dual, pronominalize it, and say:

zanantu wa-ḡannānā 'iyyāhumā z-zaydayni shākhiṣayni

"I thought the two Zayds were, and they thought we were, returning."

and in the plural:

zanantu wa-ḡannūnā 'iyyāhumu z-zaydīna shākhiṣīna

"I thought the Zayds were, and they thought we were, returning."

Assigning the appendancy to the second, you say:

a'lamtu wa-'a'lamani zaydun 'amran muntaliqan

"I informed (Zayd), and Zayd informed me, that 'Amr is leaving."

Assigning the appendancy to the first, you say:

a'lamtu wa-'a'lamanihi 'iyyāhu zaydan 'amran muntaliqan

"I informed Zayd, and he informed me of it, that 'Amr is leaving."

In the dual:

a`lamtu wa-`a`lamānihumā `iyyāhumā z-zaydayni l-`amrayni  
muntaligayni

"I informed the two Zayds, and they informed me of it, that the two `Amrs are leaving."

In the plural:

a`lamtu wa-`a`lamūnihim `iyyāhumu z-zaydīna l-`amrīna  
muntal-igīna

"I informed the Zayds, and they informed me of it, that the `Amrs are leaving."

This sentence is equivalent to:

a`lamtu z-zaydīna l-`amrīna muntaligīna wa-`a`lamūnihim  
`iyyāhum

"I informed the Zayds that the `Amrs are leaving, and they informed me of them."

My view of this and similar examples is that they are not permissible because there is nothing like it in the speech of the Arabs. Making these doubly and triply transitive verbs analogous to verbs having a single object complement is a farfetched analogy due to the complexity introduced through the use of numerous pronouns and pre- and postpositioning of (syntactic elements).

The branches of this chapter are many, including (the following questions): Should all the verbs, fully inflected and non-inflected, be included in this chapter or not? Are nouns and particles akin to verbs in this matter or not? Are appendant words (muta`alliqāt) which the grammarians call governed (ma`mūl fihā) such as adverbs (ẓarf), circum-

stantials (hāl), adverbs of specification (ṭamyiz), adverbs of purpose (maf`ul min ailihi), cognate accusatives (maf`ul mutlag), and adverbs of accompaniment (maf`ul ma`ahā) of the same category as the other complements (maf`ul bihi), the agents and the prepositional phrases (majrūr) or not?

With respect to the verbs requiring three objects, the answer is no for the reasons we have stated previously. As for the verbs which cannot be inflected, such as the verb of wonderment (fi`l al-ta`ajjub), (the answer is) [yes].<sup>72</sup> You say:

mā 'aḥsana wa-'a`lama zaydan

"How good and knowledgeable is Zayd."

You append "Zayd" to the word a`lama, and you say:

mā 'aḥsana wa-'a`lamahu zaydan

"How good and knowledgeable is Zayd."

by appending ("Zayd") to the first (verb). There is nothing to object to in this (example) except the separation between aḥsana and the word appended to it, (but) it is not a verb even though some grammarians consider it a verb. Should it be said that aḥsana does not behave like other verbs with respect to its appended words, the response should be that making it analogous to other verbs requiring a single object is permissible because of their close similarity

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<sup>72</sup>Dayf, p. 114, only. Not present in text of al-Bannā, who states (p. 91, n.1) that "It is permitted" is an unexpressed but understood response to the ammā "as for" phrase which precedes it.

and because it is intuitively understood by the listener. As for ḥabbadhā "how lovely it would be," ni'ma "what a perfect....," bi'sa "what an evil....," and 'asā "it might be....," they are not to be considered under this category because the appended words cannot be pronominalized to the extent (of others) in this category and they cannot be separated.

Regarding kāna (the verb "to be") and its sisters, they belong to this category following the pattern of the verbs requiring an object complement. You say:

kuntu wa-kāna zaydun qā'iman

"I was, and Zayd was, standing."

and:

kuntu wa-kānahu zaydun qā'iman

"I was, and Zayd was it, standing."

Al-Farazdaq said:

innī damintu li-man 'atānī mā janā

wa-'abā fa-kāna wa-kuntu ghayra ghadūri

"I guaranteed the profits (harvest) to the one who came to me. He declined. He was, and I was, not perfidious."<sup>73</sup>

This same (is true) of laysa "it is not...." You say:

lastu wa-laysa zaydun qā'iman

"I am not, and Zayd is not, standing."

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<sup>73</sup>Example illustrates deletion of the object of the first verb when it is identical to the object of the governing second verb. *Sībawayh* 1:76; *Sīrāfi* 1:226-27.

and:

lastu wa-laysa 'iyyāhu zaydun qā'iman

"I am not, and Zayd is not it, standing."

It is more appropriate to defer (judgment) to what is heard from the Arabs with respect to words other than kāna, because kāna is more concise and bolder and its predicate has been pronominalized.

Abū l-Aswad<sup>74</sup> said:

fa-'in lā yakunhā 'aw takunhu fa-'innahu

'akhūhā ghadathu 'ummuhu bi-libānihā

"Even though he is not she, and she is not he, he is her brother. His mother fed him of her milk."<sup>75</sup>

Should it be said, "The grammarians mentioned only the agent, the object complement and the genitive phrase in this category, and there are many governed words according to their school of thought such as the verbal nouns (maṣḍar), the adverbs, the circumstantial adverbs, the adverbs of purpose, the adverbs of accompaniment, and the adverbs of specification, (hence) should these be treated analogously with the object complements or not?" the response is that with respect to the verbal noun it is clear from their speech that it is not of this category because verbal nouns

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<sup>74</sup>Abū l-Aswad al-Du'alī (d. Basra 69/688) was a prominent supporter of the caliphate of 'Alī. He was a poet, and it is widely held that he was the first to lay down the rules of Arabic grammar. EI<sup>2</sup> 1:106-07.

<sup>75</sup>Sibawayh 1:46. Dayf, 1947, has the variant 'illā for 'in lā.

are used to reinforce the verb. Deletion is in contradiction to reinforcing the verb.

If you say:

qumtu wa-qāma zaydun qiyāman

"I stood, and Zayd stood, a standing."

appending the verbal noun qiyāman to the second verb, while qiyāman is deleted from the first verb, you have omitted the reinforcing word. If the verbal noun is used to indicate the type (of action), it more resembles the object complement as when we say:

qumtu l-qiyāma l-ḥasana

"I took the proper stand."

Assigning government to the second (verb), you say:

qumtu wa-qāma zaydun il-qiyāma l-ḥasana

"I took, and Zayd took, the proper stand."

Assigning government to the first (verb), you say:

qumtu wa-qāmahu zaydun il-qiyāma l-ḥasana

"I took, and Zayd took it, the proper stand."

With the adverb of time (assigning to the second) you say:

qumtu wa-qāma zaydun yawma l-jum`ati

"I stood, and Zayd stood, on Friday."

Assigning government to the first (verb), you say:

qumtu wa-qāma fīhi zaydun yawma l-jum`ati

"I stood, and Zayd stood on it, on Friday."

With the adverb of place (assigning to the second),

you say:

gumtu wa-qāma zaydun makānan ḥasanan

"I stood, and Zayd stood, in a good place."

Assigning government to the first (verb), you say:

gumtu wa-qāma fīhi zaydun makānan ḥasanan

"I stood, and Zayd stood in it, in a good place."

With the adverb of purpose (assigning to the second),

you say:

gumtu wa-qāma zaydun 'i'zāman laka

"I stood, and Zayd stood, out of high regard for you."

Assigning (government) to the first (verb), you say:

gumtu wa-qāma lahu zaydun 'i'zāman laka

"I stood, and Zayd stood for the same reason, out of high regard for you."

This sentence is equivalent to:

gumtu 'i'zāman laka wa-qāma lahu zaydun

"I stood out of high regard for you, and Zayd stood for the same reason."

It is best not to use these (examples) for analogy except when one is heard to be used as the other was heard to be used. The circumstantial and specification adverbs cannot be considered analogous because they cannot be nominalized. Participles have no place in this category.

Nouns which the grammarians term regents may be (so considered here). You say:

zaydun mādiḥun wa-mu'zimun 'iyyāhu 'amran

"Zayd is praising, and exalting him, 'Amr."

Meaning:

zaydun mādiḥun `amran wa-mu`zimun `ivvāhu

"Zayd is praising `Amr and exalting him."

The grammarians disagree concerning to which of the two verbs the final noun is more appropriately appended. The Basrans' choice is the second verb because of proximity, whereas the Kufans' choice is the first verb, because it precedes (the second). The practice of the Basrans seems more appropriate because it is simpler. It is no more than deleting what is repeated in the second verb, or pronominalizing it according to their practice if it is an agent. Assigning appendancy to the first (requires) pronominalizing all of the words appended to the first (verb) which are repeated in the second (verb) and post-positioning all of the words appended to the first verb after the second verb. Proximity has caused them to say:

hādha juḥru ḍabbin kharibin

"This is the destroyed den of a lizard."

They make (kharib) "destroyed" genitive although it (modifies) the pre-positioned word juḥr "den."

### Object-Fronting

Another area where it is thought to be difficult for one who wishes to understand or give (others) to understand, because it is the province of a regent and a governed word, and leads me to deny the regent and the governed word,



is the chapter of object-fronting<sup>76</sup> (in which) the verb is operating on the (referential) pronoun of the object complement, (not the object itself), as when we say:

zaydan ḍarabtuhu

"Zayd; I hit him."

I say that (with respect to) every verb preceded by a noun which has an object pronoun following and referring back to the noun, or a pronoun connected to the object, or to a word in the genitive case, or to a particle of the type where the following word is genitive, this verb must be either a predicate complement (khavar) or a non-predicate complement. Non-predicate complements are (those object complements of verbs) of the imperative (amr), the prohibitive (nahy), the interrogative (mustafham `anhu), the urgentives (mahḍūḍ `alayhi) and (ma`rūḍ),<sup>77</sup> and (the verb) of wonder (ta`ajjub).

If it is either the imperative or the prohibitive, the accusative is to be selected, and the nominative case is permissible. We say:

zaydan idribhu

"Zayd; hit him!"

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<sup>76</sup>The technical term ishtighāl "object-fronting" refers to placing the object of a verb, the noun of a prepositional phrase, or the possessor in a possessive construction at the head of the sentence before the verb. Its position following the verb is then filled with a referential pronoun. Cf. Muṣṭafā, Iḥyā', pp. 151-58.

<sup>77</sup>Missing in Ḍayf.

Likewise:

zaydan idrib ghulāmahu

"Zayd; hit his servant boy!"

[Likewise:

zaydan umrur bi-ghulāmihi]<sup>78</sup>

"Zayd; pass by his servant boy!"

Likewise:

zaydan umrur bihi

"Zayd; pass by him!"

The prohibitive is like the imperative.

Al-A`shā said:

hurayrata waddi`hā wa-'in lāma lā'imu

ghadāta ghadin 'am 'anta lil-bayni wājimū

"Hurayra, bid her farewell early tomorrow morning even though someone may criticize you for it, / or are you despondent (and speechless) over parting."<sup>79</sup>

(Do) likewise with the lām of the imperative, as in saying:

zaydan la-yadribhu `amr

"Zayd; may `Amr hit him!"

If you insert the word ammā "as for" before the noun, (do) likewise. You say:

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<sup>78</sup>Missing in Dayf.

<sup>79</sup>Purpose of the example in Sībawayh is to illustrate the use of a wāw as the qāfiya in poetry where Arabic grammar would normally require nunation in the nominative. hurayrata is accusative by virtue of a suppressed verb waddi` "bid farewell to." Sīrāfi 2:348-53; Sībawayh 4:205.

ammā zaydan fa-'akrimhu

"As for Zayd; honor him!"

and:

ammā 'amran fa-lā tuhinhu

"As for 'Amr; do not demean him!"

The supplicative (du`ā') follows the pattern of the imperative and the prohibitive in speech. One says:

allāhumma zaydan irhamhu

"O God! Zayd; have mercy on him."

and:

allāhumma 'abdallāhi lā tu'adhdhibhu

"O God! Abdullah; do not torture him."

Similarly, (you say):

zaydan saqyan lahu wa-'amran ra'yan lahu wa-'ammā

l-kāfiru fa-jad'an lahu

"Zayd; may he have water; 'Amr; may he have pasturage; but as for the unbeliever, may he have barrenness."

because these are supplicatives.

Abū l-Aswad al-Du'alī said:

amīrāni kānā 'akhayānī kilāhumā

fa-kullan jazāhu llāhu 'annī bi-mā fa'al

"Two princes, each of whom had treated me as a brother, whereupon God rewarded them on my behalf for what they had done."<sup>80</sup>

If you say:

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<sup>80</sup>Citation illustrates that kull "each" is made accusative by the suppressed verb jazā "he rewarded." Sīrāfi 1:88-89; Sībawayh 1:142.

zaydan fa-ḍribhu

"Zayd; so, hit him."

"Zayd" can only be put in the accusative case. It cannot be made nominative on the basis that it is the inchoate subject as is permitted with:

zaydun idribhu

"Zayd; hit him."

If it is considered the predicate of a deleted inchoate subject, it is permissible, as though one had said:

hādha zaydun fa-ḍribhu

"This is Zayd. So, hit him!"

(The following sentence):

zaydun fa-ḍribhu

"Zayd; so, hit him!"

is not permissible (by arguing) that Zayd is the inchoate subject and -ḍribhu "hit him" is the predicate. Likewise you cannot say:

zaydun fa-muntaliqu

"Zayd; so, leaving."

The poet<sup>81</sup> said:

wa-qā'ilatin khawlānu fa-nkah fatātahum

wa-'ukrūmatu l-hayyayni khilwun ka-mā hiya

Many a (woman) is there saying, this is (the tribe) Khawlan; therefore, wed thou their damsel, / while she that is noble in the two clans (of her father

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<sup>81</sup>Poet unknown.

and mother) is unmated as she is."<sup>82</sup>

(In this example), khawlānu is the predicate complement of a deleted inchoate subject equivalent to hādhihi khawlānu "this is Khawlan." As for the verse of God, Most High:

was-sāriqu was-sāriqatu fa-qṭa`ū 'aydiyahumā

"As to the thief, male or female, cut off his or her hands."<sup>83</sup>

and His verse:

az-zāriyatu waz-zānī fa-jlīdū kulla wāḥidin minhumā

mi'ata jildatin

"The woman and the man guilty of adultery or fornication, -- flog each of them with a hundred stripes."<sup>84</sup>

Sībawayh, may God have mercy upon him, considered the (two subjects) to be inchoate subjects. He did not analyze the two imperative verbs as their predicates; instead he considered the predicate complements deleted, but equivalent to fil-farā'id "in religious duties" or fī-mā furida `alaykum "among the religious duties imposed upon you" (are those with respect to) the adulterer and the adulteress. It appears that the two are inchoate subjects and that their predicate complements are the two verbs to which the fa is prefixed, just as it is prefixed to the predicate complement of:

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<sup>82</sup>Sībawayh 1:139, 143; Sīrāfi 1:413-15; Howell 1:116-17.

<sup>83</sup>Qur'ān 5:41.

<sup>84</sup>Qur'ān 24:2.

alladhī sariqa fa-qṭa` yadahu

"He who has stolen, cut off his hand."

because the meaning of as-sāriq "the thief" is alladhī sariqa "he who has stolen." It is not of the class of:

zaydun fa-muntaliqun

"Zayd; so, leaving."

because zaydan (i.e., "Zayd" in the accusative case) does not indicate a meaning to which the predicate complement is entitled to be connected as a qualificative clause (musabbab lahu)<sup>85</sup> as there is in as-sāriq "the thief." In as-sāriq there is a meaning which is subordinate to (qṭa` yadihi) "cutting his hand." It has been read in the accusative case. Sibawayh said, "In Arabic (the accusative) has the power which I have mentioned, but the masses have refused anything but the nominative case."<sup>86</sup>

If the verb is the object of an interrogative (formed) by the hamza (the interrogative particle a), the (proper) choice is the accusative case as when you say:

a zaydan 'akramtahu

"Zayd; did you honor him?"

but the nominative case is permissible.

God, Most Powerful and Most Exalted, stated:

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<sup>85</sup>Wright 2:283b.

<sup>86</sup>Sibawayh 1:143-44.

a basharan minnā wāhidan nattabi`uhu

"What! A man! A solitary one from among ourselves.  
Shall we follow such a one?"<sup>87</sup>

Like this is (the sentence):

a zaydan ḍarabta 'akhāhu

"Zayd; did you hit his brother?"

and: a zaydan mararta bihi

"Zayd; did you pass by him?"

and: a zaydan mararta bi-'akhīhi

"Zayd; did you pass by his brother?"

Jarīr said:

a tha`labata l-fawārisa 'am riyāha

`adalta bihim tuhayyata wal-khishāba

"Tha`laba of the horsemen or Riyāh; / did you deem  
Tuhayya and the Khishābs equal to them?"<sup>88</sup>

You say:

a `abdallāhi kunta mithlahu

"Abdallah; were you like him?"

on (the basis) that kāna and laysa are verbs. I do not permit this, until it is heard spoken by the Arabs. And you say:

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<sup>87</sup>Qur'ān 54:24.

<sup>88</sup>Citation illustrates that a suppressed verb implied as jahilta "you ignored" must exist between the interrogative a and tha`labata rendering it accusative. The meaning then is "Do you ignore Tha`laba or Riyāh?" The latter two were clansmen of Jarīr's tribe. Tuhayya and the Khishābs were related to al-Farazdaq. Sībawayh 1:102; Sīrāfi 1:288.

mā 'adrī 'a zaydan marartu bihi 'am 'amran

"I do not know whether it was Zayd I passed by or 'Amr."

and:

mā 'ubālī 'a 'abdallāhi laqītu 'akhāhu 'am 'amran

"I care not whether it was 'Abdallah's brother I met or 'Amr's."

If the referential pronoun ('ā'id) of the noun positioned before the verb is a nominative pronoun,<sup>89</sup> the noun is nominative, just as its pronoun is in the nominative position. A regent that renders the nominative case and indicative mood (rāfi')<sup>90</sup> cannot be suppressed, just as a regent that renders the accusative case and subjunctive mood cannot be suppressed. However, the pronoun is made nominative or accusative in accordance with the speech of the Arabs, as for example, when you say:

a zaydun qāma

"Did Zayd stand up?"

God, Most High, said:

qul 'a allāhu 'adhina lakum, 'am 'alā llāhi taftarūna?

"Say: 'Hath God indeed permitted you, or do ye invent (things) to attribute to God?'"<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Wright 2:312a, 319bd, 322a.

<sup>90</sup>The technical term rāfi' refers to any grammatical element which puts a noun in the nominative case, such as its position as inchoate subject or the verb of which it is an agent.

<sup>91</sup>Qur'ān 10:59.



Our saying that sometimes [it is accusative,]<sup>92</sup> because it is not the inchoate subject, and sometimes [it is nominative] because it is the inchoate subject, serves no useful purpose.

God, Most Blessed and Most High, said:

a fa-ra'aytum mā tumnūna 'a 'antum takhlugūnahu?

"Do ye then see? -- The (human seed) that ye throw out, -- is it ye who create it?"<sup>93</sup>

(where) antum "you (m.p.)" is in the nominative position.

This is also (true of):

a zaydun ḍaraba 'abūhu 'amran

"Zayd; did his father hit 'Amr?"

and also:

a zaydun ḍuriba

"Zayd; was he hit?"

and:

a zaydun dhuhiba bihi

"Zayd; was he taken away?"

This is also (true of):

a zaydun murra bi-ghulāmihi

"Zayd; was his slave passed by?"

'Adī b. Zayd<sup>94</sup> said in the imperative:

<sup>92</sup>In al-Bannā only.

<sup>93</sup>Qur'ān 56:58-59.

<sup>94</sup>'Adī b. Zayd was an Arab Christian poet at the Lakhmid court in al-Hira where he died in prison about 600 A.D. With al-A'shā, he represents a courtly and urbane level of poetic style distinct from that of the Bedouin poets. EI<sup>2</sup> 1:196.

a rawāḥun muwaddi`un 'am bukūru

'anta fa-nzur li-'ayyi dhāka taṣīru

"Will you die late or early; look to which of the two you are headed."<sup>95</sup>

If (the fronted noun) has two pronouns referring to it, one of them in the nominative position, and the other in the accusative position, or one of them connected to a nominative word and the other connected to an accusative word, as when you say:

a `abdallāhi ḍaraba 'akhūhu ghulāmahu

"Abdallah; did his brother hit his (Abdallah's) slave?" the word `Abdallāh can be either nominative or accusative. If the word in the nominative case is complied with, the (fronted noun) is nominative. If the word in the accusative case is complied with, it is accusative.

You say:<sup>96</sup>

a zaydan lam yadribhu 'illā huwa

"Zayd; did no one hit him but he (himself)?"

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<sup>95</sup>In this citation the regent is the active participle muwaddi`un "being late" which governs rawāḥun "death" in the nominative case. The pronoun anta "you" is explained as the inchoate subject of a deleted predicate complement postulated as al-hālik "mortal" since the verbal clause which follows anta cannot logically serve that purpose. Following this interpretation, a clumsy but technically correct translation would be "Death; will it be late or early, for you (are mortal)? ...." *Sīrāfi* 1:414-15. *Sībawayh* 1:140.

<sup>96</sup>The following text of five examples and commentary are taken verbatim from the commentary on *al-Kitāb* written by Abū l-Ḥasan `Alī al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927) which was widely circulated and annotated in Spain. *Sībawayh* 1:106.

The fronted noun can only be accusative, even though both pronouns refer to it, because the accusative (pronoun - hu) here is not an independent pronoun [(separated) from the verb, and the first (fronted) noun follows (the case of) the bound pronoun]<sup>97</sup> because the independent pronoun governs like all other nouns and the word huwa "he" is in its position. The bound pronoun is not like this.

Likewise is (the sentence):

a zaydun lam yaḍrib 'illā 'iyyāhu

"Zayd; did he not hit anyone but him(self)?"

because if the action of Zayd is indicated by a bound pronoun (only) -- which is to say the agent pronoun which is contained in yaḍrib "he hits" -- the verb cannot have Zayd as an object; and (therefore) Zayd's action cannot be transitive with respect to (the fronted noun).

Do you not see that you do not say:

a zaydan ḍaraba

\*"Zayd; is it he hit?"

when you intend to say:

a zaydan ḍaraba nafsahu

"Zayd; did he hit himself?"

nor:

a zaydun ḍarabahu

\*"Zayd; did he hit him?"

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<sup>97</sup>Added by al-Bannā and Ḍayf from al-Akhfash.

when you intend to assign Zayd's act to the object pronoun. The object pronoun (refers) to Zayd, and for this reason it does not govern Zayd.

The author (Ibn Maḏā'), may God be pleased with him, stated, "This is based on (the principle) that the nominative word is made nominative by a suppressed verb (fi'l muḏmar), and the accusative becomes accusative on the same basis."

If it is said:

a zaydan lam yaḏribhu 'illā huwa

"Zayd; did no one hit him but he?"

the implication of the deleted element (maḥdhuf) is:

a lam yaḏrib zaydan 'illā huwa

"Did no one hit Zayd but he?"

This is good, because the agent is a free pronoun.

Were Zayd made nominative by relating it to the free pronoun, thus saying:

a zaydun lam yaḏribhu 'illā huwa

"Zayd; did no one hit him but he?"

the implication of the deleted element would be:

a lam yaḏribhu 'illā zaydun

"Did no one hit him but Zayd?"

(and) it would not be permissible because the bound (object) pronoun referring to Zayd cannot be attached to the verb (referring) to Zayd containing his bound (agent) pronoun.

You cannot say:

mā ḍarabahu 'illā zaydun

\*"He did not hit him, except Zayd."

when the pronoun refers to Zayd.

If it is asked, why can the implication not be:

mā ḍaraba 'illā 'iyyāhu zaydun

"He did not hit except him, Zayd."

the response is (it cannot be so) because the meaning of the deleted (word) is contrary to the meaning of the negated (word); for when illā "except" is followed by the agent, the meaning is that the object was not the recipient of any action other than the action of the actor. It is possible that the action of the agent did extend to someone other than that object, and it is possible that the action did not extend to anyone other than that object.

If illā is followed by the object, then the possibility of the agent acting on any other object is denied, but it is possible that the act was (also) carried out on the object by someone other than the agent and it is possible that only that agent carried it out.

If you say:

a zaydun lam yaḍrib 'illā 'iyyāhu

"Did Zayd not hit but him?"

Zayd is in the nominative case, and nothing else, because the implication of the deleted phrase is:

a lam yaḍrib zaydun 'illā iyyāhu

"Did Zayd not hit but him?"

This is good (usage).

The accusative case is not permitted in this example, just as the nominative cannot be used in the first,<sup>98</sup> because were Zayd made accusative the implication would then be:

a lam yaḍrib 'illā zaydan

"Did he not hit but Zayd?"

since the pronoun of the agent in the surface verb is bound.

mā ḍaraba 'illā zaydan

"He did not hit except Zayd."

and:

mā 'illā zaydan ḍaraba

"None but Zayd, he hit."

are not permitted either.

It is not permissible to introduce illā before the nominative pronoun and thus say:

a lam yaḍrib zaydan 'illā huwa

"Did Zayd not hit but he?"

because the meaning of the deleted (word) must be like the meaning of the negated (word). This is not the case here for reasons presented in the first example.

All of this is based on the principle of suppression. However, those who are of the view that the Arabs were concerned with meanings, and created differing utterances,

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<sup>98</sup>i.e., the example: a zaydan lam yaḍribhu 'illā huwa

"Zayd; did no one hit him but he?"

by and large, to distinguish differing meanings and (created) identical utterances (to indicate identical meanings), permit the accusative and the nominative in each of the two examples because Zayd is the agent and the object. Hence, the nominative case (is permissible) if one considers him to be the agent; the accusative case (is permissible) if one considers him to be the object.

Do you not see that you say:

a zaydun lam yaḍrib `amran 'illā huwa

"Zayd; did no one hit `Amr but he?"

relating (Zayd) to the free pronoun, and you say:

a zaydan lam yaḍrib `amrun 'illā 'iyyāhu<sup>99</sup>

"Zayd; did `Amr hit none but him?"

relating to the free pronoun?

Were you to say:

a zaydan lam yaḍrib `amran 'illā huwa

\*"Did Zayd `Amr not hit but him?"

this would not be permissible. If you postulate a grammatical regent in accordance with their principle, then you must say:

a lam yaḍrib `amran 'illā zaydun lam yaḍribhu 'illā huwa

\*"Did no one hit `Amr but Zayd, not hit him but he?"

This is one of the clear proofs that the Arabs did not

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<sup>99</sup>Dayf text incorrectly gives `amran accusative.

suppress anything.

You say:

akhawāka ṣannāhumā munṭaliḡayni

"Your two brothers thought them(selves) to be leaving."  
Here akhawāka "your two brothers" has two pronouns, one of them nominative and the other accusative, both of which are bound.<sup>100</sup> You have made the first (bound pronoun) nominative because the act of the overt agent noun is transmitted in this case to its (accusative) pronoun, as in:

ṣannāhumā 'akhawāka munṭaliḡayni

"Your two brothers thought them(selves) to be leaving."  
when the two were thinking about themselves. The act of the suppressed pronoun cannot extend to the overt noun, as when you say:

zaydan ṣanna 'āliman

"Zayd; he thought (himself) learned."  
when he is thinking of himself. However, the act of a suppressed pronoun may be transmitted to the pronominalized (object) as when you say:

aṣunnunī dhāhiban

"I think I am leaving."

This is based likewise on (the principle) that the nominative and accusative cases are determined by pronominalization in the verb. If pronominalization is omitted,

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<sup>100</sup>The first bound pronoun is the -ā (dual marker) of the verb ṣann; the second is -humā "them, they two."



then both the nominative and the accusative cases are possible, with the exception that any case about which there is no dispute takes precedence over that about which there is a dispute, in this issue and in the two issues which were cited earlier.

To be informed<sup>101</sup> concerning these issues, which are hypothetical, unused and unneeded, is unnecessary for one who is of the view that he should look into only those matters which are of critical importance. Deleting these (issues) and others like them from the occupation of grammar will serve to strengthen and simplify it. Accordingly, delving into issues such as these which aid speech is more appropriate than preoccupation with those which do not aid in speech, as when they ask, "How is the direct object put into the accusative case; by the agent, by the verb, or by the two?"

When you say:

a 'anta 'abdullāhi ḍarabtahu

"Did you hit Abdullah?"

Sībawayh chooses to put Abdullah in the nominative case because the interrogative particle a and Abdullah are separated by the word anta "you." But if you wish to make it accusative as you make:

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<sup>101</sup>Dayf has itāḥa "lengthy discourse."

zaydan ḍarabtuhu

"Zayd; I hit him."

accusative, this is permissible.<sup>102</sup>

Abū l-Ḥasan (al-Akhfash) and Abū l-ʿAbbās b. Yazīd<sup>103</sup> say the accusative case is better because anta must be made nominative by a verb if there is a verb at the end of the sentence. The verb by which anta is made nominative must act on Abdullah according to their principle of suppressing the verb.<sup>104</sup>

Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Wallād<sup>105</sup> rejected them and supported Sībawayh by stating that the noun occurring before the verb is nominative, and is made accusative by adding its pronoun to the verb, if the verb is the predicate of the noun. That is, it becomes nominative by virtue of being an inchoate subject; for example, if when you say:

a zaydan ḍarabtahu

"Zayd; did you hit him?"

<sup>102</sup>Sībawayh 1:104.

<sup>103</sup>Abū l-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad (210/826-285/898). Born in Basra, he taught in Baghdad. His rivalry with the grammarian Thaʿlab of Kufa is said to be the beginning of the split between the grammar schools of their respective cities. His works include Kitāb masāʾil al-ghalaṭ, a criticism of Sībawayh, al-Kāmil fī l-adab, and Kitāb al-mudhakkar wal-muʿannath. EI<sup>1</sup> 3:623.

<sup>104</sup>Sībawayh 1:104.

<sup>105</sup>Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn Wallād (d. 332/943) wrote Kitāb al-intiṣār defending Sībawayh against al-Mubarrad. Born in Egypt, he later went to Baghdad where he was a student of al-Zajjāj. Yāqūt 2:64.

you make Zayd nominative on the basis that it is the inchoate subject, then ḍarabtahu "you hit him" is its predicate.

A similar case is that of:

a zaydun qāma

"Did Zayd stand?"

for if Zayd is made nominative on the inchoative principle, qāma "he stood" is its predicate. If you say:

a 'anta 'abdallāhi ḍarabtahu

"Did you Abdullah hit?"

making anta nominative as the inchoate subject, ḍarabtahu "you hit him" cannot be its predicate. Rather the predicate is the sentence following it, 'abdallāhi ḍarabtahu, "Abdullah; you hit him" for it is analogous to the sentence:

a zaydun 'akhūhu qā'imun

"Zayd; is his brother standing?"

(Ibn Wallad's) defence of Sībawayh is refuted by Sībawayh's discussion in the section on interrogatives where the active and passive participles act as the verb.<sup>106</sup>

Sībawayh said:

a zaydan 'anta ḍaribuhu

"Zayd; are you hitting/have you hit him?"

The accusative case is selected for "Zayd," just as in:

a zaydan taḍribuhu

"Zayd; do you hit him?"

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<sup>106</sup>Sībawayh 1:108.

if by the active participle, the verb is intended.

Were what Ibn Wallad stated true, then Zayd would be nominative because if you make Zayd nominative on the inchoative principle, the (following) nominal sentence with an inchoate subject and predicate becomes the predicate of Zayd. Sībawayh might say, "I did not forbid making Zayd accusative for this reason. For me, anta "you" is the agent of an implicit verb." However, the suppressed verb in this section has only one governed object. On this basis, he must not permit the sentence:

a zaydan dirhaman 'a`ṭaytahu 'iyyāhu

"Zayd; a dirham; did you give it to him?"

making "Zayd" and "dirham" accusative by an implicit verb the implication of which is:

a 'a`ṭayta zaydan dirhaman

"Did you give Zayd a dirham?"

He must say that if this is permitted, then the following sentence is permitted also.

a zaydan `amran qā'iman 'a`lamtahu 'iyyāhu 'iyyāhu

"Zayd; that `Amr is standing; did you inform him that he is doing so?"

For if the implicit verb can govern two objects, then it can govern three.

If the verb is (introduced) by one of the urgentive

particles<sup>107</sup> allā or hallā or lawmā or lawlā, the noun can only be accusative, for you say:

hallā zaydan 'akramtahu

"Why did you not honor Zayd?"

The other (particles) are likewise.

If the noun is the subject of a clause of wonderment, only the nominative case can be used, as when you say:

zaydun mā 'aḥsanahu

"Zayd; how good he is!"

or:

zaydun 'aḥsin bihi

"Zayd; be good to him!"

When the verb is the predicate, it can be affirmative, negative and conditional. If affirmative, and the noun precedes it as the inchoate subject, the noun may be either nominative or accusative, but nominative is preferred. You say:

zaydun laqītuḥu

"Zayd; I met him."

or: zaydan laqītuḥu

"Zayd; I met him."

If the verb is negated by lā or mā, nominative and accusative are permitted in the noun, but the accusative

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<sup>107</sup>Wright's term is "requiring with urgency," 2:310. `Abbās Hasan adds a fifth particle alā "will you not...", al-Naḥw al-wāfi, Cairo, 1966-68, 2:131.

is preferred.

The poet 108 said:

fa-lā dhā jalālin hibnahu li-jalālihi

wa-lā dhā ḡayā'in hunna yatrūkna lil-faḡri

"The vicissitudes of fate did not fear the eminent man because of his station; / nor do they leave the misfortunate to his poverty."<sup>109</sup>

Another (Jarīr) said:

fa-lā ḡasaban fakharta bihi li-taymin

wa-lā jaddan 'idhā zḡahama al-judūdu

"(You won) neither esteem for Taym, in which to take pride / -- nor good fortune, (at a time) when good fortune abounded."<sup>110</sup>

Likewise you say:

mā zaydan ḡarabtahu

"Zayd; you did not hit him."

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<sup>108</sup>Hubda b. al-Khashram al-'Udhri, a classical poet from the Hejaz, who relayed the poetry of al-Ḥuṭay'a. He was slain about 50/671 in revenge for having killed his cousin. Sīrāfi 1:81, n.1.

<sup>109</sup>Subject of the verbs is al-nawā'ib "vicissitudes of fate" from a previous line. Here dhā jalālin "an eminent man" is accusative as the object of the suppressed verb hibna "they feared" which is confirmed by the subsequent verb hibnahu pronominalized for the object. Following it is an identical construction dhā ḡayā'in "misfortunate" which is accusative. Since yatrūkna "they spare" lacks a pronominalized object, an argument in favor of pronominalization cannot be made. Ibid., Sībawayh 1:145.

<sup>110</sup>Jarīr satirizing 'Umar b. Laja' al-Taymī. Citation illustrates that ḡasab "esteem" is accusative by virtue of a suppressed verb postulated as dhakarta "you mentioned." It cannot be identical to fakharta bihi "you took pride in it" since fakharta requires a preposition. However, he feels that the nominative case is stronger. Sībawayh 1:145-46; Sīrāfi 1:83, 567.

if it is not (the Ḥijāzī mā)<sup>111</sup> which is followed by a nominative (subject) noun and an accusative predicate. If the verb is made conditional by the use of the conditional particle *in*, the noun is accusative; and whether it can be nominative is in dispute.

The poet said:<sup>112</sup>

lā tajza`ī 'in munfisan 'ahlaktuhu

wa-'idhā halaktu fa-'inda dhālika fa-jza`ī

"Repine thou not, if valuable property, I consume it; / but when I perish, then at that do thou repine."<sup>113</sup>

Placing the noun before the verb is not at all (permissible) as a type of apodosis<sup>114</sup> except with (the conditional particle) *in* alone, unless required by a poetic exigency.

If you conjoin a sentence, in which the (object) noun precedes the verb, to another sentence which has a verb at its head, the accusative case is chosen, while the nominative is possible, as when you say:

darabtu zaydan wa-'amran 'akramtuhu

"I hit Zayd; and `Amr, I honored him."

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<sup>111</sup>On this point see Wright, 2:104-5.

<sup>112</sup>Al-Namir b. Tawlab, a Mukhaḍram poet, known as Abū Rabī'a who adopted Islam at an advanced age (d. circa 14/636). Baghdādī 1:321-25.

<sup>113</sup>Ṣībawayh discusses this example as a case of accusative nouns following particles which normally are followed only by verbs, i.e., *in* "if." Ṣībawayh 1:134; Ṣirāfi 1:160-61; Howell 1:209.

<sup>114</sup>On apodosis see Wright 2:15.

God, Most Blessed and Most High, said:

akhraja minhā mā'ahā wa-mar'āhā wal-jibāla 'arsāhā

"He draweth out (from the earth) its moisture and its pasture and the mountains hath He firmly fixed."<sup>115</sup>

Likewise, He, Most High, said:

yudkhilu man yashā'u fi rahmatihi waẓ-ẓālimīna 'a'adda

lahum 'adhāban 'alīman

"He will admit to His mercy whom He will; but the wrong-doers, -- for them he has prepared a grievous penalty."<sup>116</sup>

Such verses are abundant in the Qur'ān.

The poet said:<sup>117</sup>

aṣḥaṭtu lā 'ahmilu s-silāḥa wa-lā

'amliku ra'sa l-ba'iri 'in nafara

wadh-dhi'ba 'akhshāhu 'in marartu bihi

wahdi wa-'akhshā r-riyāḥa wal-maṭara

"I have become so decrepit that I bear not arms, / nor turn back the head of the he-camel if he take fright, / and (dread) the wolf, dread him, if I pass by him / alone, and dread the winds and the rain."<sup>118</sup>

Here the poet conjoined wadh-dhi'ba 'akhshāhu "And the wolf, dread him" to lā ahmilu s-silāḥa "I bear not arms."

If you conjoin it (i.e., a sentence in which the object

<sup>115</sup>Qur'ān 79:31-32.

<sup>116</sup>Qur'ān 76:31.

<sup>117</sup>Al-Rabī' b. Ḍabū' al-Fazārī describes his growing old. He is said to have lived nearly 200 years. Sibawayh 1:89, n.4.

<sup>118</sup>Howell cites aruddu "I turn back" for amliku "control." Howell 1:207; Sibawayh 1:89.



noun precedes the verb) to a sentence having an inchoate subject and a predicate wherein the predicate is a sentence with a verb and an agent as when you say:

zaydun 'akramtahu wa-'abdu'llāhi laqī'tahu

"Zayd; you honored him, and Abdullah; you met him."

Sībawayh chooses the nominative case conjoining to the nominal sentence, and the accusative case when conjoining to the verbal sentence.<sup>119</sup> Others<sup>120</sup> have disagreed with him on this asserting that one may not conjoin to the sentence composed of a verb [and its agent]<sup>121</sup> because it is the predicate of the inchoate subject and its case is the nominative. Whatever is conjoined to a predicate is likewise a predicate. It is incorrect for the conjoined sentence to be a predicate because there is no pronoun referring back to the inchoate subject.

The words of the objector are clearer, since the purpose of desinential inflection is to clarify meaning. The subject is not open to discussion if two conditions obtain: if it is conjoined to one of them, not to the other; or if it can be conjoined to either of them, except by virtue of (a barred) meaning as when we say:

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<sup>119</sup>Sībawayh 1:91.

<sup>120</sup>Among them are al-Akhfash, al-Ziyādī, al-Sīrāfī, al-Fārisī, and Hishām. Al-Bannā, p. 107, n.7.

<sup>121</sup>Missing in text and added by Dayf and al-Bannā.

zaydun qā'imun 'abūhu wa-'amrun

"Zayd; his father is standing and (so is) 'Amr." (or)

"Zayd; his father is standing and (so is) 'Amr's."

You say that 'Amr is conjoined to "father," but it cannot be conjoined to qā'imun "standing" because "standing" is the predicate of Zayd, whereas 'Amr is not. Rather, 'Amr is described by "standing." It is possible to conjoin 'Amr to Zayd, and thus the two who are standing are Zayd's father and 'Amr's father.

If you say:

zaydun shujā'un wa-karīm

"Zayd is brave and generous."

(the word) karīm "generous" is conjoined to shujā' "brave," not to Zayd, because "brave" is information about Zayd, just as is "generous."

In the sentence:

zaydun darabtuhu wa-'amran 'akramtuhu

"Zayd; I hit him, and 'Amr; I honored him."

if we say that this second sentence can be conjoined to the inchoate subject and its predicate, and that it can be conjoined to the sentence composed of the verb and its agent, and the two sentences are different, one being a predicate of the inchoate subject, whereas the other is not, and the bigger of them is not an object of desinential

inflection<sup>122</sup> in their view while the smaller is an object of desinential inflection, what benefit is there in having to choose one type of conjunction over the other?<sup>123</sup> Do you not see that if we say:

zaydun 'akramtahu wa-'amrun 'ahantahu 'i'zāman lahu

"Zayd; you honored him, and 'Amr; you demeaned him to further aggrandize him (Zayd)."

there is no disagreement about the permissibility of conjoining the sentence:

'amrun 'ahantahu 'i'zāman lahu

"'Amr; you demeaned him to further aggrandize him (Zayd)."

to the inchoate subject and its predicate, and to the sentence of the verb and the agent. If you conjoin it to the larger, it is not the object of desinential inflection. If you conjoin it to the smaller, it is the object of desinential inflection and the first (predicate clause), which is akramtahu "you honored him," can be omitted, and the second can be put in its place. Thus you say:

zaydun 'amrun 'ahantahu 'i'zāman lahu

"Zayd; 'Amr; you demeaned him ('Amr) to further aggrandize him (Zayd)."

The conjunction wa "and" puts the second (clause) into

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<sup>122</sup>By the term "an object of desinential inflection" Ibn Maḡā' means a sentence which may be replaced in its grammatical position by a single noun. See Sīrāfi 1:392.

<sup>123</sup>Al-Bannā's interpretation of the final clause is the correct one. See Ḍayf, p. 134, n.2.

the position occupied by the first. Every ma`ṭuf `alayhi<sup>124</sup> can be omitted, and its place may be taken by the ma`ṭuf<sup>125</sup> unless it is thereby anomalous, as for example:

wa-'ayyu fatā hayjā'a 'anta wa-jārihā

"And what youth of war art thou, and neighbor thereof?"<sup>126</sup>  
An anomaly may not be used as a basis (for grammar rules).

Just as a single (word) predicate can only be conjoined by another predicate, the sentence is (treated) likewise. There is no difference between the two with respect to both being predicates. The single predicate is not prevented from being conjoined by a predicate which is other than single, rather (this determination depends on whether or not the conjoining item is in fact) a predicate.

Ibn Wallād supported Sībawayh at length on matters most of which are not pertinent to this subject. One which is relevant to the question is his statement that the grammarians are in agreement that it is permissible to say:

marartu bi-rajulin qāma 'abūhu wa-qa`ada `amrun

"I passed by a man (whose) father stood up and `Amr sat down."

Here qāma 'abūhu "his father stood up" is a sentence in the genitive position since it is an adjectival clause

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<sup>124</sup>The ma`ṭuf `alayhi is the grammatical item to which another grammatical item is conjoined.

<sup>125</sup>The ma`ṭuf is any grammatical item conjoined to a previous grammatical item.

<sup>126</sup>Author unknown. Sībawayh 2:55-56, 187; Howell 3:456.

describing rajulin "man." The sentence wa-ga`ada `amrun "and `Amr sat down" is conjoined to it, but not in the position of the genitive, because you do not say:

marartu bi-rajulin ga`ada `amrun

\*"I passed by a man `Amr sat down."

because there is no pronoun referring back to rajul "man" in the second sentence [which would make it a descriptive clause].<sup>127</sup>

Likewise, if you say:

zaydun yaḍribu ghulāmahu fa-yaghḍabu `amru

"Zayd beats his servant and `Amr gets angry."

yaḍrabu ghulāmahu "beats his servant" is in a nominative position and yaghḍabu `amru "`Amr gets angry" is conjoined to it, but it is not in a nominative position [because there is no pronominal referent back to the inchoate subject].<sup>128</sup>

The response is that drawing an analogy with regard to the predicate based on the descriptive clause is not convincing, since the provinces of the two differ. Likewise, someone might say that wa-ga`ada `amrun "and `Amr sat down" is conjoined to the larger sentence, not to the smaller.

If someone says that the meaning is contrary to that, in that the speaker did not wish to use two predicates

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<sup>127</sup>Ḍayf only, p. 135.

<sup>128</sup>Added from Ibn Wallād by Ḍayf, p. 135, and al-Bannā, p. 110.

unjoined by a copula, but rather intended that the standing of the father was associated with the sitting of `Amr, as shown by the conjunction wāw, as if he had said there was a standing on the part of his father accompanying the sitting down of `Amr, and thus the second sentence is bound to the first, and together they act as one sentence, the response is that the effect of the conjunction wāw is to involve the second sentence in the action of the first.

Sībawayh said, "If you say:

a zaydan ḍarabta `amran wa-ḍarabta 'akhāhu

\*"Zayd; did you hit `Amr, and did you hit his brother?" wherein the pronoun (his) refers to Zayd, it is not a (valid) utterance because `Amr has no (grammatical) relationship to (Zayd), nor is it possible to confuse the two."

Do you not see that it is impermissible to say:

marartu bi-rajulin qā'imīn `amrun wa-qā'imīn 'akhūhu

\*"I passed by a man, `Amr was standing, and his brother was standing."

because one of them is ambiguous with regard to the first, and the other is not. Sībawayh, may God have mercy on him, forbid the possibility of the first case wherein Zayd is rendered accusative by a suppressed verb indicated by the verb which follows Zayd, because there is no pronoun referring to Zayd. In Sībawayh's view the noun cannot be the accusative of a suppressed verb unless its explicator (mufassir) is a verb, on the condition which we have cited previously. If you say:

a zaydan darabta 'amran<sup>129</sup>

\*"Did Zayd you hit 'Amr?"

this is not permitted.

If it is said, in the second sentence there is a pronoun which refers to (Zayd), the response is that the second sentence does not explicate the suppressed verb which put Zayd in the accusative, but rather the suppressed verb explicates the verb which follows its object. Hence the wāw does not tie the second sentence to the first in a way which renders them a single sentence. There is no difference between the school of Sībawayh and what has been said, except that Sībawayh considers the verb suppressed; and where it renders the accusative, he renders the accusative, and where it renders the nominative, he renders the nominative and where one can be chosen over the other, he does so, and if his approach is in disagreement with this way of reasoning he points it out.

Regarding his (Ibn Wallād's) statement:

zaydun yaḍrabu ghulāmahu fa-yaghḍabu 'amrun

"Zayd; he beats his boy-servant, and 'Amr gets angry."

it is clear that yaghḍabu "he gets angry" is conjoined with yaḍrabu "he beats." But since beating is the reason for the anger, the two sentences are tied together and become equivalent to the protasis and apodosis (of the

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<sup>129</sup>Al-Bannā reads daraba, but darabta seems to have been Sībawayh's intention. Sībawayh 1:104; Dayf, p. 136.

conditional sentence). Even though they are two sentences, they are equivalent to one. Do you not see that you say:

zaydun 'in tukrimhu yukrimka 'amrun

"Zayd; if you honor him, 'Amr will honor you."

and it is sufficient that you have the referential pronoun from the first sentence. There is no disagreement over permitting this.

I have gone beyond the brevity and succinctness I insist upon in this subject because there was no avoiding doing so. It is sufficient with respect to the first disputed matter<sup>130</sup> to say that the nominative and the accusative are both possible. The nominative is the (preferred) manner, [because they agreed on it],<sup>131</sup> but the accusative is possible by unanimous agreement although it is inferior to the nominative. Sibawayh says that the nominative is better in one way, and the accusative is better in another way.

One may ask why was the argument in favor of Sibawayh abandoned by the words of God, Most Blessed and Most High:

ash-shamsu wal-qamaru bi-husbānin wan-najmu wash-shajaru  
yasjudāni was-samā'a rafa'ahā wa-waḍa'a l-mizāna

"The sun and the moon follow courses (exactly) computed; and the herbs and the trees -- both (alike) bow in adoration. And the firmament has He raised high,

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<sup>130</sup>The argument regarding the example zaydun 'akramtahu wa-'abdullāhi laqītahu; see Dayf, p. 137, n.3.

<sup>131</sup>Al-Bannā only, p. 111.



and He has set up the balance (of justice)."<sup>132</sup>  
 (The word) as-samā'a "firmament" is in the accusative case, even though the accusative case is appropriate when the conjunction is with the verbal sentence, not with a nominal sentence (as here). It is conjoined with the predicate yasjudāni "bow," although it has no pronoun referring back to the inchoate subject.

One objecting to Sībawayh could say that it was rendered accusative, despite being conjoined to the nominal sentence, even though the nominative is preferred according to the schools of the grammarians.

Moreover, there is (this verse):

innā kulla shay'in khalaqnāhu bi-qadarin

"Verily, all things have We created in proportion and measure."<sup>133</sup>

The nominative is more appropriate according to Sībawayh, but Sībawayh has no convincing argument for saying so.

The active and passive participles follow the same course of the verbs in this chapter, as do the intensive adjectives derived from the active participle such as fa`'āl, and fa`ūl and mif`āl.

You say:

a zaydan 'anta dāribuhu

"Zayd; are you hitting him?"

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<sup>132</sup>Qur'ān 55:5-7.

<sup>133</sup>Qur'ān 54:49.

and: a zaydan 'anta ḍarrābuhu

"Zayd; are you hitting him?"

and similarly, miḍrābuhu or ḍarūbuhu.

If after the (initial) noun, you add a conditional sentence containing an accusative pronoun referring back to the noun, only the nominative case is permitted, as in:

zaydun 'in tukrimhu yukrimka

"Zayd; if you honor him, he will honor you."

Similarly, if you bring an interrogative particle or (interrogative) noun after the noun as in:

zaydun kam marratan laqītaḥu

"Zayd; how many times did you meet him?"

and:

'amrun hal ra'aytaḥu

"'Amr; did you see him?"

and:

zaydun man ḍarabahu

"Zayd; who hit him?"

and:

'abduḥḥi mā 'aṣābahu

"Abdullah; what afflicted him?"

The same is true if the verb is in the position of an adjective such as:

a zaydun 'anta rajulun tukrimuhu

"Zayd; are you a man who honors him?"

The poet<sup>134</sup> said:

a kulla 'āmin na'amun tahwūnahu

yulqihuhu gawmun wa-tantiḡūnahu

"Are there every year, grazing animals you possess,  
/ Which other people have bred, and which you see  
through to calving?"<sup>135</sup>

Zayd al-Khayl<sup>136</sup> said:

a fī kulli 'āmin ma'tamun tab'athūnahu

'alā miḡmarin thawwabtumūhu wa-mā ruḡā

"Are there every year women whom you sent to grieve  
/ over an old naḡ which you sent as recompense, but  
was not accepted?"<sup>137</sup>

(The word) tahwūnahu "you possess (them)" is in the position of an adjective modifying na'amun "grazing animals" which is the inchoate subject, the predicate of which is kulla 'āmin "every year." The inchoate subject is a postfixed

<sup>134</sup>Qays b. Husayn b. Zayd al-Ḥārithī. Al-Isfahānī attributes the lines to a man of Banū Ḍabba on the occasion of a raid by the Yemeni Banū Ḥārith on the Banū Tamīm known as the second battle of Kulāb. The Tamīmīs held the day. Sīrāfī 1:119, n.1.

<sup>135</sup>Ibn Maḡā' follows the interpretation of Sīrāfī 1:119-20; Sībawayh 1:129.

<sup>136</sup>Abū Muknaf Zayd b. Muḡalhil al-Ta'i, called Zayd al-Khayr by the Prophet Muḡammad. An eloquent Jāhilī poet, he accepted Islam the year he died (9/631). Baghdādī 5:379-95.

<sup>137</sup>This example, like the preceding one, illustrates syndetic relative clauses modifying inchoate subject nouns. Sībawayh considered these subject nouns to be postfixed nouns of a noun-noun construction in which the first noun, a governing verbal noun, is deleted. In the first example, verbal nouns such as iḡrāz "possession" or akḡdh "taking" are offered. In the second, ijtimā' "meeting." Sībawayh 1:129; Sīrāfī 1:121-22. Ibn Maḡā' seems not to object to postulating a deleted word in this instance.

noun of a noun-noun construction in which the prefixed noun has been deleted. kulla 'āmin "every year" is an adverb of time which cannot serve as predicate to animate (subjects), but requires verbal nouns (as inchoate subjects). Had it been read in the accusative, this would be permissible and the verb would have not been an object of desinential inflection. Likewise, the word ma'tam "grieving women" can be read in the accusative on the condition that the verb is not a modifier (ṣifa).

The poet Jarīr said:

abaḥṭa ḥimā tihāmata ba'da najdin

wa-mā shay'un ḥamayta bi-mustabāḥi

"Thou prohibitedst the prohibited place of Tihama after Najd / and not a thing that thou prohibitedst is taken as lawful."<sup>138</sup>

(The word) ḥamayta "thou prohibitedst" is in the position of a modifier, hence the word shay'un "thing" can not be rendered accusative because the meaning would be corrupted and because of the bi prefixed to the word mustabāḥin "lawful."

The poet<sup>139</sup> said:

wa-mā 'adrī 'a ghayyarahum tanā'in

wa-tūlu l-'ahdi 'am mā lun 'aṣābū

"And I know not whether mutual distance has altered them, / and length of time, or wealth (that) they

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<sup>138</sup>Howell 1:215; Sibawayh 1:87, 130.

<sup>139</sup>Al-Ḥārith b. Kalāda al-Thaqafī, Mukhaḍram physician from al-Ṭā'if. The prophet Muḥammad referred the ill to him for treatment. Sirāfī 1:364, n.1.

have gotten."<sup>140</sup>

(The word) aṣābu "they have gotten" is in the modifier position, hence māl "wealth" cannot be inflected otherwise, since the poet did not know what it was that had altered (the subjects of his verse). He did not know whether it was distance and length of time, or wealth which they had gotten, since māl "wealth" is conjoined with tanā'in "mutual distance." One school would permit the accusative.

Likewise, if the verb constitutes a conjunctive clause (ṣila) modifying a conjunctive noun (ism mawṣūl) as when we say:

a zaydun illadhī ra'ayta

"Was it Zayd you saw?"

Zayd can only be in the nominative case. This is not equivalent to:

a zaydan il-`āqila ḍarabtahu

"Was it the wise Zayd you hit?"

because ḍarabtahu "you hit him" is neither a descriptive clause (ṣifa) nor a conjunctive clause. The same is true with respect to appositive clauses (badal) or intensifying

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<sup>140</sup>Howell attributes the verse to Jarīr and reads al-dahr "time" for al-`ahd "time." Howell 1:413; Sīrāfi 1:365; Sibawayh 1:88.

appositive clauses (tawkid)....<sup>141</sup>

A similar example is:

zaydun 'an tukrimahu khayrun min 'an tuhīnahu

"Zayd; it is better for you to honor him than for you to denounce him."

because (the verb) in the subjunctive after 'an is its (Zayd's) conjunct.

Likewise the sentence:

zaydun 'anta d-dāribuhu

"Zayd; you are the one hitting him."

"Zayd" can only be nominative because the definite article has the meaning of the relative pronoun alladhī and acts accordingly.

In this chapter, I have concluded (the subject of) that which is needed and that which can be done without. I added relevant citations and arguments for and against Sibawayh so that the reader may know that I have covered their statements and that I know that which I have proven. I did not need to suppress (words) where the utterance was complete without them and where mentioning them contradicts the speaker's intent. (I did) this with respect to the speech of people. With respect to the Word of God, (postulating

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<sup>141</sup>Both Dayf, p. 141, and al-Bannā, p. 114, have difficulty with the words which complete this sentence. Dayf reads the text as al-ikhtiyār jawāz al-naṣb which he says does not make sense in the context of the sentence. Al-Bannā reads li-khtiyār al-naṣb with the comment that it is incorrect. He inserts lā yajūz al-naṣb, i.e., the accusative is not permitted.

suppressed words) is forbidden. I ask God for assistance and success for in this chapter I have stated that which I call for and urge, because I did not introduce herein that which is impossible, weak conjuncture, nor needless redundancy.

#### Grammatical Regents and the Subjunctive Verb

Among those things which they discussed which were incomprehensible, and where they (claimed) suppression contrary to the intent of the speaker, are the chapters of the subjunctive verb. I have spoken about it in the chapter of the wāw and the fā'<sup>142</sup> so that (the reader) may use this as a guide in similar cases and know that which they have suppressed is not necessary for providing the rules to preserve the speech of the Arabs.

#### The Illative Fā'

The verb after fā' is subjunctive if it is a result (clause) for any of eight types (of preceding clauses): imperative (amr); prohibitive (nahy); interrogative (istifhām); negative (nafy); polite proposal ('arḍ); optative (tamanni); incitive (tahḍīḍ); and supplicative (du'ā').

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<sup>142</sup>The fā' al-sababiyya "illative fā'" is used to introduce a clause that expresses the result or effect of a preceding clause. Wright 2:30. The wāw similarly serves as a subjunctive particle when the governed verb expresses an act subordinate to, but simultaneous with, the act expressed by the previous clause. The Arab grammarians call wāw, thus used, the wāw of accompaniment or simultaneousness. Wright 2:32-33.

One says in the imperative:

a`ṭinī fa-`ashkurak

"Give me, and I will thank you."

Abū l-Najm recited:<sup>143</sup>

yā nāqu sirī `anaqan faṣṭḥā 'ilā sulaymāna fa-nastariḥā

"O she-camel, journey through with quick amble / to Sulayman, so that we may rest."<sup>144</sup>

One says in the prohibitive:

lā ya`ṣī zaydun allāha fa-yu`āqibahu

"May Zayd not disobey God, for (then) He will punish him."

God, Most High, said:

lā taftarū `alā llāhi kadhīban fa-yuṣḥitakum bi-`adhāb

"Forge not ye a lie against God, lest He destroy you (at once) utterly by chastisement."<sup>145</sup>

and He said:

wa-lā taṭghaw fīhi fa-yahilla `alaykum ghaḍabi

"Commit no excess therein lest My wrath should justly descend on you."<sup>146</sup>

One says in the negative:

mā ya`ṭinī zaydun fa-`u`ṭiyahu

"Zayd does not come to me (so that) I give him (something)."

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<sup>143</sup>Abū l-Najm al-Faḍl b. Qudāma l-`Ijlī (d. after 105/724) was considered one of the four best rujūz poets for description, praise and improvisation. EI<sup>2</sup> 1:142; Baghdādī 1:103-06.

<sup>144</sup>Howell 2:26; Sibawayh 3:35.

<sup>145</sup>Qur'ān 20:61.

<sup>146</sup>Qur'ān 20:81.



Two meanings are possible,. One of them is, "Zayd does not come to me, so how can I give him?" which is to say that his coming is the cause for the giving, hence if he does not come, he will not be given.

God, Most High, said:

lā yuqḍā `alayhim fa-yamūtū

"No term shall be determined for them, so they should die."<sup>147</sup>

Another example is:

mā `āmana `abū jahlin fa-yadkhula l-jannata

"Abū Jahl was not a believer, and he is to enter Paradise?"

Farazdaq recited:

wa-mā `anta min qaysin fa-tanbaḥa dūnahā

wa-lā min tamīmīn fī l-lahā wal-ghalāṣimī

"You are not of Qays, yet you bark nonetheless? / Nor are you of Tamīm in (terms of) uvulae and epiglottis."<sup>148</sup>

The other meaning of our example:

mā ya'tīnā zaydun fa-nu`ṭiyahu<sup>149</sup>

"Zayd does not come to us, and we give him (something)."

is that he does not come to us in a state of being given;

<sup>147</sup>Qur'ān 35:36.

<sup>148</sup>Farazdaq is belittling Jarīr who had maternal uncles in the Qays tribe, suggesting that his poetry is like the barking of dogs, while denying Jarīr, who was not a Qaysī, even that humble status. He uses the words uvulae and epiglottis to reject equating Jarīr even to bits of flesh in the dog's mouth. *Sībawayh* 3:33.

<sup>149</sup>Note the change to first person plural. Previous example to which this refers was first person singular.

that is, he may come to us, but we do not give him anything.

Farazdaq recited:

wa-mā qāma minnā qā'imun fī nadiyyinā

fa-yantīqa 'illā bi-llatī hiya 'a'rafu

"No one would arise from our seated group and speak except that which was most true."<sup>150</sup>

Al-La'in recited:<sup>151</sup>

wa-mā ḥalla sa'diyyun gharīban bi-baldatin

fa-yunsaba 'illā z-zibriqānu lahu 'abun

"No one of the Banū Sa'd tribe ever newly settled in a town and attributed his patrilineage to anyone other than al-Zibriqān."<sup>152</sup>

You say:

ka-'annaka lam ta'tinā fa-nuḥaddithaka

"As though you had not come to us, and we spoke to you."

A man of Banū Dārim said:<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup>Sibawayh 3:32.

<sup>151</sup>Munāzil b. Zama'a l-La'in al-Minqarī was an Umayyad poet who reportedly received his name al-La'in, "the accursed," from the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who heard him reciting poetry during prayer and asked "Who is that accursed person?" Baghdādī 3:206-15.

<sup>152</sup>Al-Zibriqān was the most famous leader of the Banī Sa'd, thus any member of his tribe upon settling in a new location would claim al-Zibriqān as his father for status. Al-Bannā, p. 117, n.2; Dayf, pp. 142-143, n.5.

<sup>153</sup>Attributed to Suwayd b. al-Ṭawīla, a Jāhilī poet, of the Banū Dārim. Sīrāfī 1:302, 2:150.

ka-'annaka lam tadhbah li-'ahlika na'jatan

fa-yuṣbiha mulqan bil-finā'i 'ihābuhā

"As though you had not slain for your family a ewe,  
/ and thus its hide is cast off in the courtyard."154

In the interrogative, one says:

a ta'tīnā fa-nuḥaddithaka

"Are you coming to us, so that we can speak to you?"

The poet said:155

a lam tas'al fa-tukhbiraka r-rusūmu

'alā firtāja waṭ-ṭalalu l-qadīmu

"Did you not ask and were then informed by the traces  
/ at Firtāj of an old campsite?"156

In the (form of) polite proposal one says:

a lā ta'tīnā fa-nukrimaka

"Will you not come to us, so that we may honor you?"

In the optative, one says:

layta zaydan 'indanā fa-yuḥaddithanā

"If only Zayd was with us to speak to us."

It has been read:

waddū law tudhinu fa-yudhinu

"Their desire is that thou shouldst be pliant: so  
would they be pliant."157

154Sīrāfi 2:149-51; Sībawayh 3:35.

155Al-Burj b. Mushir. Sīrāfi 2:153-55; Sībawayh 3:34.

156Sīrāfi has variant reading: tarba "you camp" for tas'al "you ask," and al-'ahd "days of yore" for al-ṭalal "campsite". Sībawayh 3:34; Sīrāfi 2:153-55.

157Qur'ān 68:9.

Muhalhil said:<sup>158</sup>

fa-law nubisha l-maqābiru `an kulaybin

fa-yukhbāra biḏh-dhanā'ibi 'ayyu zīri

"If only the graves of Kulayb were exhumed / at Adh-Dhanā'ib, for then would he know what kind of visitor I am."<sup>159</sup>

Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt said:<sup>160</sup>

a lā rasūla lanā minnā fā-yukhbīranā

mā bu`du ghāyatīnā min ra'si mujrānā

"May there not be a messenger for us from among us, so that he may inform us / what is the distance of our goal from the beginning of our course?"<sup>161</sup>

In the incitive one says:

hallā zurta zaydan fa-yukrimaka

"Why did you not visit Zayd, so that he would honor you?"

In the vocative, one says:

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<sup>158</sup>Al-Muhalhil b. Rabī'a l-Taghlibī, a Jāhilī poet, uncle of Imru' al-Qays. He was the brother of Kulayb whose death he laments in the following verse. The death of Kulayb was a direct cause of the war of Basūs between Bakr and Taghlib. Baghdādī 2:164-72.

<sup>159</sup>Dayf text reads nushira "spread about" where al-Bannā has nubisha "exhumed." See Fu'ād Afrām al-Bustānī, al-Muhalhil, Beirut, 1927, p. 6, who also has nubisha, but has la-'ukhbira "he would have been informed" for fa-yukhbāra.

<sup>160</sup>Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt was a Mukhadram poet famous for his poetry on the afterlife. The prophet Muḥammad reportedly said of him that his poetry expressed faith but his heart did not. Baghdādī 1:247-53.

<sup>161</sup>Sībawayh 3:33; Sīrāfi 2:166. Howell 2:29 has minhā "from her" for minnā "from among us."

allāhumma lā tu'akhiḏhnā bi-dhunūbinā fa-nahlīka

"Oh God! Do not hold our sins against us, for we will perish."

God, Most Powerful and Most Exalted, said:

lawlā 'akhkhartanī 'ilā 'ajalin qarībin fa-'aṣṣaddaqa  
wa-'akun minā ṣ-ṣālihinā

"Why didst Thou not give me respite for a little while? I should then have given (largely) in charity, and I should have been one of the doers of good."<sup>162</sup>

The Arabs have made the subjunctive mood after the fā' obligatory (following the simple future), but this is an anomaly which should not be used for purposes of analogy.

The poet recited:<sup>163</sup>

sa-'atrūku manzilī li-banī tamīm

wa-'alḥaḡu bil-ḥijāzi fa-'astarīḥa

"I will leave my place of abode to the Banu Tamim / and betake myself to (a tribe) which is in Al-Hijāz, so that I may be at rest."<sup>164</sup>

Al-A'shā recited:

thummata lā tajzūnanī 'inda dhākum

wa-lākin sa-yajzīnī l-'ilāhu fa-yu'qibā

"Then do not thou reward me, / for God will reward

<sup>162</sup>Qur'ān 63:10. This citation is included in the vocative because the Qur'ānic verse begins with rabbī "O, my Lord!"

<sup>163</sup>Al-Mughīra b. Ḥabnā'. Umayyad poet who attached himself to the army of the Umayyad general al-Muhallab and fought against the Azraqite Kharijites. He was killed in battle in 91/710. Muḥammad al-Marzubānī, Mu'jam al-shu'arā', ed. 'Abd al-Sattār A. Farrāj, Cairo, 1960, p. 273; al-Ziriklī, A'lām, 7:278.

<sup>164</sup>Sībawayh 3:39, 92; Howell 2:43. Cf. Wright 2:32.

me and grant success."<sup>165</sup>

Ṭarafa recited:<sup>166</sup>

lanā haḍbatun lā yanzilu dh-dhullu wastahā

wa-ya'wī 'ilayhā l-mustajīru fa-yu'samā

"We have a mountain wherein no disgrace falls; / where one needing protection seeks refuge and is protected."<sup>167</sup>

Concerning the instances where the verb after fā' is subjunctive, in some cases conjunction is permitted whereupon the inflection of the second verb will be identical to that of the first verb which precedes the fā', and the meaning of the first will not be in conflict with that of the second verb. In each of these instances, the verb may be separated from the first and made indicative obligatorily. An example of this is:

lā yashtumu 'amrun zaydan fa-yu'dhihi

"'Amr does not curse Zayd and hurt him."

If the example is read in the subjunctive, the meaning is "May 'Amr not curse Zayd, and (thereby) hurt him." It prohibits him from (causing) all types of harm. If the (second verb) is indicative, the meaning is that he

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<sup>165</sup>Sibawayh 3:39.

<sup>166</sup>Ṭarafa b. 'Abd al-Bakrī, one of the earliest Jāhili Arab poets (mid-6th century A.D.) whose work survives, is author of the longest of the Mu'allaqāt. EI 4:662-4; Baghdādī 2:419-25.

<sup>167</sup>Al-Bannā has yadkhulu "enters" for yanzilu "falls." Strāfi 2:158-59 incorrectly attributes the verse to al-A'shā. Sibawayh 3:40.

will hurt him if he curses him. If the verb yu'dhihi "he hurts him" is read as jussive and conjoined with yashtumu "he curses," then the meaning is that 'Amr is hurting him. That is to say, it is in the nature of 'Amr to cause hurt.

Al-Nābigha recited:<sup>168</sup>

wa-lā zāla qabrun bayna tubnā wa-jāsimin

'alayhi mina l-wasmiyyi jawdun wa-wābilu

fa-yunbitu ḥawdhānan wa-'awfan munawwiran

sa-'utbi'uhu min khayri mā qāla qā'ilu

"There is still a grave between Tubnā and Jāsim / where the early spring rain thereupon falls in torrents and downpours / causing the ḥawdhān (flower) and the radiant 'awf (flower) to grow. / I will praise it with the best anyone ever spoke."<sup>169</sup>

The poet did not treat yunbitu "cause to grow" as an apodosis, rather, it is separated (from the first verb). Reading it in the subjunctive would (also) have been permitted.

He said:<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>168</sup>Al-Nābigha l-Dhubyānī, Ziyād b. Mu'āwiya, is the famous Jāhilī poet of the Ghassanid court in 6th century Syria. Possible dates are 535-604 A.D. EI<sup>1</sup> 3:804-05; Baghdādī 2:135-38.

<sup>169</sup>These lines were recited to lament the death of al-Nu'mān b. al-Ḥārith al-Jifnī. Sībawayh 3:36-37; Sīrāfī 2:56-57.

<sup>170</sup>Jamīl b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'mar al-'Udhri, beloved of Buthayna, most famous representative of Arabic poetry idealizing chaste love (c. 40/660-82/701). His diwan was widely circulated in the 3rd/9th century and studied by the grammarians Ibn al-Anbārī and Ibn Durayd. EI<sup>2</sup> 2:427-28; Baghdādī 1:397-98.

a lam tas'ali r-rab'a l-qawā'a fa-yantiqu

wa-hal tukhbiranka l-yawma baydā'u samlaqu

"Hast thou not asked the desolate abode (concerning her people) for it speaks? / But shall a barren desert inform thee today?"<sup>171</sup>

You say:

hasibtuhu shatamanī fa-'athiba 'alayhi

"Had I thought he cursed me, I would have jumped on him."

if the jumping did not take place. Its meaning is that "Had he cursed me, I would have jumped on him." If the jumping had taken place, then only the indicative can be used, because this is equivalent to your saying:

a lasta qad fa'alta fa-'af'alu

"Did you not do (something)? So I do (something)."

One of the Ḥārithī's recited:<sup>172</sup>

ghayra 'annā lam ta'tinā bi-yaqīnin

fa-nurajjī wa-nukthiru t-ta'mila

"Save that she has not brought us certain (tidings), / and therefore we hope and multiply expectation."<sup>173</sup>

That is to say:

fa-nahnu nurajjī

"and therefore we hope."

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<sup>171</sup>Sībawayh 3:37; Howell 2:48-49; Sīrāfi 2:201-02.

<sup>172</sup>Perhaps by "Ḥārithī's" is meant a member of the al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b tribe of Yemen. According to Howell the author is al-'Ambarī. Howell 2:44. Baghdādī 8:538-39 does not attribute the verse.

<sup>173</sup>The verse in Howell reads lam ya'tinā "he has not brought us." Howell 2:44; Sībawayh 3:31.



The Wāw of Simultaneousness

The wāw (of simultaneousness) optionally puts the word following it into the accusative case/subjunctive mood. Its meaning in the accusative/subjunctive has the meaning of ma`a "with."

Al-Akḥṭal<sup>174</sup> recited:

lā tanḥa `an khuluḡin wa-ta'tiya mithlahu

`ārun `alayka 'idhā fa`alta `aḡimu

"Prohibit thou not (another) from a habit while thou practisest the like thereof; / (for that will be) a great approbrium unto thee when thou doest it."<sup>175</sup>

You say:

lā ta'kuli s-samaka wa-tashraba l-labana

"Do not eat fish and drink milk.

That is to say, do not combine the two. If the (second) verb is jussive, then one is forbidden from both in combination and singly. If the (second) verb is nominative, then one is forbidden to eat fish, while it is affirmed that he drinks milk. That is to say that you are one of those who drinks milk.

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<sup>174</sup>Al-Akḥṭal, or Ghiyāth b. Ghawth b. al-Salt, (d. before 92/710) was a Christian satirical poet who joined with al-Farazdaq in their famous rivalry with Jarīr. He served at the court of the Umayyad Caliph `Abd al-Malik, among others. Ei<sup>2</sup> 1:331; Baghdādī 1:459-74.

<sup>175</sup>Howell 2:33; Sībawayh 3:42; Sīrāfi 2:188, n.2.

Jarīr recited:<sup>176</sup>

lā tashtumi l-mawlā wa-tabluḡ 'adhātahu

fa-'innaka 'in taf'al tusaffah wa-tajhali

"And do not thou defame the friend and compass his harm; / for verily thou, if thou do that, wilt be pronounced witless and accounted silly."<sup>177</sup>

He forbade him to do either.

Al-Ḥuṭay'a recited:<sup>178</sup>

a lam 'aku jārakum wa-takūna bayni

wa-baynakumu l-mawaddatu wal-'ikhā'u

"Was I not your neighbor while between me / and you were love and brotherhood?"<sup>179</sup>

This is obligatory in meaning, hence it should not be subjunctive; however, the sentence is in an interrogative mode.

Durayd b. al-Ṣimma recited:<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>176</sup>Al-Bannā does not find it in the Diwan of Jarīr, p. 122, n. 2. Sīrāfi attributes the verse to either Juḥdur al-'Aklī or al-Khaṭīm al-'Aklī. Sīrāfi 2:188.

<sup>177</sup>Howell 2:42; Sībawayh 3:42; Sīrāfi 2:188.

<sup>178</sup>Al-Ḥuṭay'a, or Jarwal b. Aws, was born illegitimately about 592 A.D., d. after 41/661. Ugly, miserly and venal, he apostasized during Abū Bakr's caliphate, after converting to Islam for convenience. EI<sup>2</sup> 3:641; Baghdādī 2:406-19.

<sup>179</sup>Howell 2:33; Sībawayh 3:42-43; Sīrāfi 2:72-73.

<sup>180</sup>Durayd b. al-Ṣimma (b. about 530 A.D.), a poet and horseman killed after the battle of Ḥunayn (6/629) at the age of 100. He was the leader of a group of powerful Bedouin opponents of the Prophet. He reportedly asked the poetess Khansā' to marry him but she refused because of his advanced age. His father, al-Ṣimma al-Aṣghar, was also a poet. EI<sup>2</sup> 2:626-27; Baghdādī 8:65.

gataltu bi-'abdillāhi khayra lidātihi

dhu'āban fa-lam 'afkhar bi-dhāka wa-'ajza'a

"I slew (in revenge) for 'Abdallah the best of those born with him: / Dhu'āb. But I did not take pride therein while feeling apprehensive."<sup>181</sup>

He meant to say, "(It is not the case that) I was proud of it but felt apprehensive" rather "I was proud of it and at ease."

In the negative one says:

lā yasa'unī shay'un wa-ya'jiza 'anka

"There is nothing that I can do that you cannot do."

which is to say "with its being undoable by you."

You say in the imperative:

Itinī wa-'ātiyaka

"Come to me, while I am coming to you."

and if you want the imperative in the second verb, you will add the particle li of the imperative: wa-l-'ātika (i.e., ordering oneself to come to the other).

God, Most Powerful and Most Exalted, said:

wa-lammā ya'lami llāhu lladhīna jāhadū minkum wa-ya'lama  
ṣ-ṣābirīna

"(Did ye think that ye would enter heaven) without God testing those of you who fought hard (in His cause) and remained steadfast?"<sup>182</sup>

Some read (the above citation) in the jussive:

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<sup>181</sup>Sibawayh 3:43.

<sup>182</sup>Qur'an 3:142.

wa-ya`lami s-sābirīna

"And testing (knowing) the steadfast."<sup>183</sup>

God, Most High, said:

wa-lā talbisū l-ḥaḡga bil-bāṭili wa-taktumū l-ḥaḡga

wa-'antum ta`lamūna

"And cover not truth with falsehood, nor conceal the truth when you know (what it is)."<sup>184</sup>

If you wish, you can read the verb taktumū as conjoined.

God, Most High, said:

yā laytanā nuraddu wa-lā nukadhdhiba bi-'āyāti rabbīnā

wa-nakūna/u

"Would that we were but sent back! Then would we not reject the signs of our Lord but would be (amongst those who believe)."<sup>185</sup>

It has been read with both the indicative and the subjunctive.

The indicative is due to either conjunction or disjunction.

Al-A`shā recited:

fa-gultu d`ī wa-'ad`uwa 'in 'andā

li-ṣawtin 'an yunādiya dā'iyāni

"Then I said (to this woman), Call thou whilst I call; verily a more distant range / for a shout is that two callers should call out."<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>183</sup>The word ya`lam "knowing" has also been read in the indicative ya`lamu. Al-Tawḥīdī, al-Tafsīr al-kabīr, Cairo, 1910, 3:66.

<sup>184</sup>Qur'ān 2:42.

<sup>185</sup>Qur'ān 6:27.

<sup>186</sup>Ṣībawayh 3:45; Howell 2:33. Al-Bannā, p. 124, n.4, does not find it in the diwan of al-A`shā.

In the subjunctive, is his saying:<sup>187</sup>

la-lubsu `abā'atin wa-taqarra `aynī

aḥabbu ilayya min lubs ish-shufūfi

"The wearing of a woolen cloak and (that) mine eye be cool (from tears) / are dearer to me than the wearing of fine garments."<sup>188</sup>

(In) his example wa-taqarra is subjunctive because of a suppressed 'an equivalent to his having said la-lubsun wa-'an taqarra "wearing and being happy which is to say wa-garratu `aynī "my happiness."<sup>189</sup>

Al-A`shā recited:

la-qad kāna fi ḥawlin thawā'in thawaytuhu

taqaddi lubānātin wa-yas'ama sā'imu

"Assuredly there were in a year, (in) a sojourn that I sojourned (in it), / an accomplishment of wants, and (that) a loather should loath."<sup>190</sup>

This is according to he who reads taqaddi as the agent noun of the verb kāna "there were."

<sup>187</sup>Should read "her." Attributed to the poetess Maysūn bint Baḥdal al-Kalbiyya, the wife of Mu`āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. Their son Yazīd was born after their divorce caused by the poem from which this line is taken. Baghdādī 8:503-06.

<sup>188</sup>Howell, 2:52, who has missed the figurative sense of garrat al-`ayn which means "to be happy." A better translation is "to wear a woolen cloak and be happy is dearer to me...." Sībawayh 3:45; Baghdādī 8:503-04.

<sup>189</sup>In other words, in the example, taqarra is equivalent to the normal subjunctive 'an taqarra which is equivalent to the verbal noun garratu `ayn.

<sup>190</sup>Howell 1:474; Sībawayh 3:38.

Ka`b al-Ghanawī recited:<sup>191</sup>

wa-mā 'anā lish-shay'i lladhī laysa nāfi`ī

wa-yaghḍabu minhu ṣāhibī bi-ga'ulī

"And I am not the one to say the thing that does not profit me, / while my comrade gets wroth at it."<sup>192</sup>

Either the indicative or the subjunctive is permissible with the word yaghḍabu "he gets wroth." The indicative (is permitted) if one reads it as linked to the word alladhī "that," conjoined with laysa nāfi`ī "does not profit me." The subjunctive is by conjunction with the word ash-shay' "the thing," just as (in the previous example) where he said wa-tagarra `aynī "my happiness." Sībawayh was challenged in this matter.

Clearly, it is of the nature of

laysa zaydun qā'iman wa-yaq`uda `amrun

"Zayd is not standing, while `Amr is sitting."

that is to say, with the sitting of `Amr.

One says:

da`nī wa-lā 'a`ūdu

"Let me go and I will not return."

In this example, the speaker has made his non-return obligatory, hence it is disjoined. Similar to this in terms of disjunction

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<sup>191</sup>Ka`b b. Sa`d al-Ghanawī, an Islamic poet about whom little is known. He is mentioned in Abū `Ubayd al-Bakrī's commentary on the Amālī of al-Qāṭī. Baghdādī 8:574.

<sup>192</sup>Howell 2:42; Sībawayh 3:46; Baghdādī 8:569-75.

is:

fa-lā yad'unī qawmī ṣarīḥan li-ḥurratin

la-'in kuntu maqtūlan wa-yaslamu 'āmiru

"My people will not call me a free son (born) of a free woman, / were I to be slain while 'Amir goes safe."<sup>193</sup>

### Abolishing Secondary and Tertiary Reasons

Among the things which must be abolished from grammar are secondary and tertiary reasons. They are similar to the question of one who asks why "Zayd" is nominative in our utterance qāma zaydun "Zayd stood up." The response is that it is the agent, and every agent is nominative. Then he asks why the agent is nominative. The correct response to him is that this is how the Arabs spoke, and that this has been firmly established by thorough study of recurrent speech.<sup>194</sup> There is no difference between this and someone who knows that something is textually forbidden. There is no need to uncover the reason (it is forbidden) in order to apply the decision to another

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<sup>193</sup>Attributed to Qays b. Zuhayr b. Jadhīma l-'Absī, owner of the horse Dāhis, whose race against Ghabrā' led to a forty-year series of wars between the tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān in pre-Islamic Arabic. Baghdādī 8:368-74; Sibawayh 3:46.

<sup>194</sup>In Dayf only, p. 151. The term mutawātir "recurrent" is well established in Islamic knowledge theory, especially in Zahirite philosophy. Knowledge for Jurjānī is mutawātir when it is supplied by so many persons that either their number or their trustworthiness excludes doubt of its truth. EI<sup>1</sup> 3:786-87.

case. (When) one asks why it was forbidden, the jurist is not obliged to answer.

If we answer the questioner by telling him (it is nominative) in order to differentiate the agent from the object, this will not convince him. He may ask why the situation is not reversed, making the agent accusative and the object nominative. We tell him (it is so) because the agent is less frequent since there is only one agent for a verb, whereas there are many objects. Hence, the heavier (vowel of inflection, ḍamma) which is the nominative was given to the agent. The lighter (vowel, fatha) which is the accusative was given to the object, because the agent is single, while the objects are numerous. This reduces in the speech of the Arabs the things they find hard and increases in their speech the things that they find easy. This does not increase our knowledge regarding the agent being nominative. If we do not know this, ignorance of (the fact) will not harm us, since the nominativeness of the agent, which is what we are seeking, was proven to be correct through the thorough examination of recurrent speech, which brings about knowledge.

These secondary arguments are of three categories: absolutely certain, generally convincing, and absolutely corrupt. These categories are present in the books of the grammarians. The difference between primary reasons and secondary reasons is that knowledge of primary reasons



enables us to know how to speak the Arabs' language learned through observation. Secondary reasons are those which can be done without in this regard. They only inform us that the Arabs are a wise people in some areas.

An example of the (category of) absolutely certain is in the statement of one who says that whenever two quiescent letters occur together, and one of them is not a weak letter, one of them will be vowelised, whether they are in two words or in one, as when we say:

akrimi l-gawma

"Honor the people!"

God, Most High, said:

gumi l-layla

"Stand (to prayer) by night...."<sup>195</sup>

and:

wa-dhkuri sma rabbika

"But keep in remembrance the name of thy Lord."<sup>196</sup>

One says mudda, muddi, muddu "stretch!"<sup>197</sup> The final letter of the imperative is quiescent as in idrib "strike!" The

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<sup>195</sup>Qur'ān 72:2.

<sup>196</sup>Qur'ān 72:8; 76:25.

<sup>197</sup>Al-Bannā, p. 128, n.4, explains that the final letter of the geminate verb in the imperative may be vowelised with a fatha /a/, because it is the lightest of the vowels, by a kasra /i/, because it is the vowel normally used to avoid a three-consonant cluster, or by the damma /u/ on the principle of vowel harmony with the preceding /u/ of mudd.

quiescent dāl joined the first dāl (in mudda). The second (dāl) was vowelised because they clustered together, even though it is possible to pronounce the second (letter) without a vowel when they join. You say:

murr yā fatā

"Pass by, young man."<sup>198</sup>

But with respect to:

akrimi l-qawma

"Honor the people!"

and similar examples, only adding a vowel is permissible.

One may ask why the mīm of akrim "Honor!" is vowelised although it is an imperative. The response is that it joins another quiescent letter, the lām of the definite article, and when any two quiescent letters join in this way, one of them must be vowelised. If it is asked why the two were not left quiescent, the response is that the speaker cannot pronounce the two quiescent. This is of the absolute (category) and it is a secondary (reason).

Identical to this is when they say that every verb, which has one of the four (imperfect) pronoun prefixes followed by a quiescent letter, forms the imperative by removing the prefix and supplying the alif of elision. If it is asked why the alif of elision was added, the response is because it is an imperative verb from which the prefix

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<sup>198</sup>On the use of the sukūn with the final letter of murr see al-Bannā, ibid., n.5.

has been deleted. Every imperative verb from which the prefix has been deleted has the alif of elision inserted before it. If it is asked why the beginning of the verb is not left as is, the response is that it is impossible to begin (to speak) with a quiescent letter. It (also) is a secondary (reason).

The same is (true) for mi'ādun "appointment" and mizānun "scale" and similar words. It is said that they are originally \*miw'ādun and \*miwzānun. This is indicated by the fact that they are from wa'ada "he promised" and wazana "he weighed." The first letter of the verb is a wāw. The plurals of the two words are mawā'idu and mawāzinu, and the diminutives are muway'idun and muwayzinun. The wāw changed to a yā' because it is quiescent and the vowel preceding it is a kasra. Every quiescent wāw preceded by kasra becomes a yā'. If it is asked why it becomes a yā' and was not left the way it was, the response is because it is easier for the tongue (to pronounce). This too is a clear (reason), but it can be done without.

An unclear example of this type is when they say that the verb which begins with one of the (imperfect) pronoun prefixes is inflected because of its similarity to the noun. It is sufficient to say that every verb which has one of the four pronoun prefixes at its beginning, and which does not have the pronoun suffix of the feminine plural nor the nūn of the two energetic moods, is inflected.

If it is asked why yadribu "he hits" is inflected, the response is that it is a verb which has at its beginning one of the four pronoun suffixes, and it does not have the pronoun suffix of the feminine plural or the nūn of either energetic mood attached to it. Every (verb) which meets this description is inflected. If it is asked why the Arabs inflected (every verb) of this description, the response is that it resembles the noun in that when it is pronounced, it serves for the present and the future, and is therefore general. Likewise, (the noun) rajulun "man" and other indefinite nouns are general. Then if the speaker wishes to apply them to something specific, he adds the alif and the lām of the definite article to the noun and removes the general (sense of the noun). The same is true of verbs that (take) pronoun prefixes. If the speaker wishes to specify one of the two tenses, he adds either the (future particle) sa- or sawfa. (The noun) is general, (but) rendered specific by a particle added to the beginning of it, and (likewise) the (latter case) is general, but rendered specific by a particle added to the beginning of it. The verb is inflected because of this similarity. The verb also resembles the noun in that the lām of affirmation may be added to it. One says:

[inna zaydan la-qā'imun]<sup>199</sup>

"Zayd is standing."

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<sup>199</sup>Dayf only, p. 155.

and:

inna zaydan la-yaqūmu

"Zayd is standing."

They say that the noun is declined because it has only one form, whereas it has various usages. It may be an agent or an object, or in a possessive construction, hence there is a need to decline it to show these various usages. When the meanings of the verb differ, the forms of the verb differ (accordingly) thereby dispensing with (the need to) inflect it. Were it not for the similarity between the noun and the verb, the latter would not be inflected.

It has been said that the reason necessitating declining the noun exists (also) in the verb, for were we to say:

\*ḍaraba zaydun `amrun

"He hit Zayd nom `Amr nom

and:

\*zaydan `amran

"He hit Zayd acc `Amr acc

we would not be able to tell the agent from the object.

The same would be true if we say:

lā yaḍrib(0/u) zaydun `amran

"May Zayd not hit `Amr." (or)

"Zayd does not hit `Amr."

for without the indicative and the jussive moods, we would not know the simple negative from the negative imperative.

The same would be true if we said:

lā ta'kuli s-samaka wa-tashrab(0/a) l-labana

"Do not eat fish and drink milk." (or)  
 "Do not eat fish (if you) drink milk."

for without the subjunctive, jussive, and [indicative]<sup>200</sup> moods one could not distinguish the negative imperative forbidding the two acts individually and together, from forbidding combining the two, and from forbidding (the first act) to those who are drinkers of milk. Just as the nouns have various usages, so also the verbs have different usages; they may be negative, affirmative, negative imperative, affirmative imperative, conditional, the result of a conditional predicate complement, and the object of an interrogative. Hence, their need for inflection is like that of the need of the nouns (for declension).

Furthermore, one thing cannot be determined by analogy from another unless its province is unknown, while the thing from which the analogy is to be drawn must be of a known province. The reason found in the province of the primary must be present in the derivative. The Arabs are a wise people. How could they compare one thing to another and determine its province when the reason for the province of the primary does not exist in the derivative? When one of the grammarians does this, he is considered to be ignorant and his words will not be accepted. Why are they attributing to the Arabs something which makes

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<sup>200</sup>Added by Dayf, p. 156, and al-Bannā, p. 131.

them appear to be ignorant? This is so because they do not judge something by analogy, and make a decision on its province, unless the reason of the primary exists in the derivative. (But) this is what they (the grammarians) did in likening the noun to the verb in (terms of) governance, and in likening the particle inna and its sisters to transitive verbs in (terms of) governance. The likening of diptote nouns to verbs is somewhat more appropriate, because they say that the diptote nouns resemble the verbs in that they are derivatives, just as verbs are derivative after the nouns. If the diptote noun has two reasons, or one taking the place of two, each reason making the noun a derivative, it is prohibited like the verb from (being) genitive and (having) nunation. The reasons which prohibit declension with tanwīn are definiteness, (being) a foreign word, (being) an adjective, (being) feminine, (being) a compound, (being) turned from one form into another, (being) a plural of a form which does not occur in the language as a singular, resembling in form a part of a verb related to it, and ending in the termination -ān similar to the feminine termination -ā'.

This is so because definiteness is secondary after indefiniteness, foreign nouns are a branch of Arab speech, the adjective follows the (word) modified, feminineness is a branch of masculineness, compounds are derived from singular words, the transformed word is derived from that

in which it originated, plurals are derived from singulars, and the ~~-ān~~ is employed by the masculine noun to make it resemble the feminine. The case of the noun similar in form to a part of the verb is clear.

The reason the grammarians (give) for the dropping of nunation from the verb is that it is heavy. Its heaviness is due to the fact that the noun is used more than (the verb). Anything which the tongue is used to doing becomes light, but if a usage becomes infrequent, it becomes heavy. Other nouns occur more frequently than diptote nouns, so (the latter) became heavy. They were prohibited from nunation like the verbs, and the genitive (case) went the same way. None of this is needed except for a knowledge of the specific reasons which occur with diptotes. Anything else is redundant. This would (even) be so were (the grammarians' arguments) clear; how much more (unneeded) is it in its present state of weakness, because it is claimed that the Arabs so wished it! There is no indication of this, except the loss of nunation and the lack of a genitive. (The lack of) these two is restricted to the verb, hence if (nouns) were not similar to verbs, (features) lost in verbs would not have been lost in (nouns).

One may respond that we find nouns which even more strongly resemble verbs than these diptotes, yet they are triptotes, such as:



aqāma 'iqāmatan

"He resided ( a residing)."

and similar words.

The word iqāmatun "residing" is feminine; the verb is derived from it, and refers to the same act. (The verbal noun) is a regent like the verb, according to their belief, and reaffirms it. The reaffirming word is secondary to the thing affirmed, just as the adjective is secondary to the thing described. (The verbal noun) contains feminineness, reaffirmation, regency and the additional (letters) of derivation. It it does not have the tā' of the feminine, as in qiyām "rising," nonetheless, like the verb, it cannot be made dual or plural. [God willing we will speak about first reasons in this chapter].<sup>201</sup>

An example of clearly erroneous (argumentation) is the statement of Muḥammad b. Yazīd (al-Mubarrad) that the nūn of the feminine plural is vowelled because the consonant preceding it is quiescent, as in the examples yadribna "they (feminine plural) beat" and ḍarabna "they (feminine plural) beat." Earlier, he had stated that the (final radical of the verb) was quiescent so that four vowelled letters would not occur together, because the verb and the actor are a single unit. Hence, he argued that the quiescence of the letter preceding the nūn is due to the

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<sup>201</sup>Missing in Dayf.

nūn's vowelling; and, he argued for vowelling the nūn because the previous letter was unvowelled. He made the reason to be an effect of that for which it had been the reason. This is clearly erroneous. Were it not that it would take too long, I would have brought more examples.

Al-A`lam,<sup>202</sup> upon whom be peace, despite his insight into grammar, was consumed with these secondary reasons. He felt that when he was able to deduce something from them, he had accomplished something magnificent. Our friend, the jurist Abū l-Qāsim al-Suhaylī,<sup>203</sup> upon whom be God's mercy, was likewise taken with them in addition to his other interests. He would invent (secondary reasons) and thought that they were the perfection of the art and (showed) an understanding of it.

Just as we do not ask about the `ayn of `izlim "dark night" or the jīm of ja`far "creek" or the bā` of burthun "claw," why this was vowelled with a, that with u, and the other with i, likewise we must not ask why Zayd is in the nominative case. If it is said that Zayd (is a

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<sup>202</sup>Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Sulaymān al-Shantamarī, an Arab grammarian of Andalusia, b. 410/1019 in Santamaria; he taught in Cordova and died in Seville 476/1083. Among other works, he wrote a commentary on the citations in Sībawayh. EI<sup>1</sup> 1:249.

<sup>203</sup>Abū l-Qāsim `Abd al-Rahmān b. `Abdallāh al-Suhaylī, born 508/1114 in Māliqa, d. 581/1184 in Marrakesh. He was of the Malikite school of jurisprudence, a grammarian and memorizer of the Qur'ān. He authored al-Rawḍ al-unuf fī tafsīr sirat Ibn Hishām. That Ibn Maḍā' mentions him as no longer alive is further evidence for dating this text.

word which) changes at the end, the response should be that 'izlim is also subject to change. In the diminutive, the 'ayn is pronounced with the u; in the plural of the pattern fa'alil, it is pronounced with an a. If it is said that the noun has certain conditions under which it is nominative, others where it is accusative, and others where it is genitive, the response is that if these conditions are known because of the first reasons, the nominative because of its being an agent, inchoate subject, predicate of a nominal sentence, or the pro-agent of a passive verb having an unstated agent, the accusative because it is an object, and the genitive because of its being in a possessive construction, then the last (letter) is like the first which has a u under a certain condition, an a under a certain condition, and an i under a certain condition. The i occurs in the singular, the a in the plural, and the u occurs in the diminutive form.

#### Abolishing Useless Exercises in Morpho-Phonological Analogy

Among (the exercises) which must be dropped from Arabic grammar is "form this according to that" such as when they say "form from (the word) bay' (the word) on the pattern of fu'l." One says \*bu', the original of which is \*buy'. The yā' becomes a wāw because it is preceded by a u and is therefore to be pronounced that way. Thus, the Arabs said mūgin "convinced (of)" and mūsir "prosperous." (The word) mūgin is originally \*muygin because it is an active

participle corresponding to the verb aygana "he was convinced (of)." The first radical of the verb is yā', thus the first radical of the corresponding active participle should be a yā' just as the active participle of the verb akrama "he honored" is mukrim "honoring." The first radical of the verb, the kāf, is the first radical of the active participle mukrim. The same is true for all sound active participles; the first radical is the first radical of the verb, the second (corresponds) to the second radical of the verb, and the third radical (corresponds to) the third radical of the verb. When making the plural of mūsir you say mayāsir and in the diminutive muyaysir because the reason for changing the yā' to a wāw, which is that it is quiescent and preceded by a u is no longer present, so it returns to the original radical.

He who says bi' with the i has added the i to the bā so that the yā' will be unchanged, just as the Arabs have said biḍ "white (plural)," 'īn "having large black pupils of the eye (plural)" and ghīd "young and delicate (plural)" for the plurals of bayḍā', 'aynā' and ghayḍā', and the masculine as well, since the plural of fa'lā' is fu'l as in ḥamrā' "red (f.)" and ḥumr "red (pl.)" and shaḡrā' "blonde (f.)" and shuḡr "blonde (pl.)." By analogy, one should say \*buyḍ, \*ghuyḍ and \*'uyn, but the Arabs changed these words to the vowel i so as not to change yā' to a wāw.

As to which of the two views is correct, each view has an argument in favor of it. The argument of one who changes the yā' to wāw is that (the word) \*bū' is singular, therefore basing it on the word mūsir and similar words is more appropriate than basing it on a plural. Moreover, we have found that the second (sound) conforms to the first more often than the first conforms to the second. They say mi'ād and mizān, changing the second (sound to conform) to the first (yā'). They did not change the i to a or to u so that the wāw would be unchanged.

The same is true of (other roots) which have the wāw as the first radical, as in īlil "frighten!" and īsan "slumber!" The same is (true of) riyād "gardens" and thiyāb "garments" which are originally \*riwād and \*thiwāb. The wāw has changed to a yā' because the previous (sound) is i and because of other conditions. Similar (cases) are šāma šiyāman "he fasted a fasting" and qāma qiyāman "he rose a rising" which are originally \*šiwām and \*qiwām. The wāw has been changed to a yā' due to (the sound) i which precedes it. The same is (true of) ghuziya "he was raided" and du'iya "he was called" and every root in which the last letter is a wāw when it is built in the passive voice. The same is true of the active participle of (roots) which has a wāw as the final radical. One says ra'aytu ghāziyan "I saw a raider." The same is true of qīla "it was said" and sīqa "it was driven" in the classical language. In

all of these, the latter (sound) conforms to the first one.

The argument of those who say \*bi' is that the analogy with (the word) biḏ "white (pl.)," and changing u to i so that the yā' will remain unchanged, is more appropriate than changing yā' to wāw. (This is because) the yā' is lighter, and it is more frequent than the wāw. Just as a following sound conforms to a previous sound, so also a previous sound conforms to the following sound. In the diminutive of shaykh "sheikh, old man," they say shiyaykh "a little sheikh," the (vowel) i following the shin because of the yā'.

In the imperative of triliteral verbs with u as the imperfect vowel of the second radical of the root, the (initial) quiescent alif is (vowelled with) u because of the u of the second radical as in uqtul "kill!" and ukhrui "depart!" and similar examples. If the second radical of the root were not vowelled with u, the quiescent alif would have been vowelled with i as it is when the second radical has a or i. Other (examples) of the preceding vowel conforming with the following vowel are imru' "man" and ibnum "son."<sup>204</sup> However, the occasions on which the following sound conforms with the previous sound are more frequent than those in which the previous sound agrees

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<sup>204</sup>See Wright 1:20, 239.

with the following sound in the speech of the Arabs. (At the same time,) changing wāw to yā' is more frequent than changing yā' to wāw. (The words) kīla "it was measured" and bī'a "it was sold" are more correct than \*bū' and \*kūl.

Hence there are three categories: that in which the following sound corresponds to the previous sound and nothing else; that in which the previous sound corresponds to the following sound and nothing else; and that in which there are two usages, the previous sound corresponding to the following sound, and the following sound corresponding to the previous sound. However, having the previous sound correspond to the following sound is more correct. Therefore it is more likely that the speech of those who say bī' is clearer.

(All of) this is (with respect to) a single issue. So how will it be if (the number of issues of) this sort is increased, conflict is extended, and the tent-ropes of speech stretch to it with little to be gained, and with no need to do so? People are unable to memorize the true classical language, so how can they (memorize) this needless conjecture?

That which must be dropped from grammar is arguing over matters which do not aid speech, such as (the grammarians') disagreement over the reason for the agent being in the nominative case, the object being in the accusative case, and all secondary reasons and the like which are of no

aid in speech, such as their disagreement over what it is that renders the inchoate subject nominative and the object accusative. Some (of the grammarians) made it accusative by the verb, others by the agent, and others by the verb and the agent together. In totality, all [disagreement concerning]<sup>205</sup> that which does not aid speech (must be dropped).

It is completed, true thanks be to God. May prayers be upon Mohammad, His prophet and servant, and may there be peace.

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<sup>205</sup>Dayf only, p. 164.



Appendix A

Biography of Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī from  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī's al-Dhayl wal-takmila  
li-kitābayn al-mawṣūl wal-ṣila, ed. Iḥṣān 'Abbās,  
 Beirut, 1964. Entry 291, pp. 212-223.<sup>1</sup>

Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥurayth  
 b. 'Aṣim Ibn Maḍā' b. Muḥannad b. 'Umayr al-Lakhmī. Thus  
 is his lineage established in the book of his masters compiled  
 by Abū l-Khaṭṭāb 'Umar b. Ḥasan b. al-Jumayyil (Ibn Diḥya).  
 Abū l-Khaṭṭāb showed it to (Ibn Maḍā') and he agreed with  
 him about it except for (the part) Muḥannad b. 'Umayr which  
 he denied saying, "I do not know of them." Abū l-Khaṭṭāb  
 said to him, "My lord, they are your forefathers as mentioned  
 by" so-and-so, referring to an historian. The shaykh paused.  
 The author, may God forgive him, said, "Nonetheless, it  
 seems to me that it is a discontinuous lineage because  
 of the lengthy time span between Aḥmad's era and that of  
 Ḥurayth.

Al-Ḥukayyim 'Abdullāh b. 'Ubaydallāh, who died in  
 the middle of Ramadan in 341 A.H., in the book in which

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<sup>1</sup>Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī  
 (634-703/1237-1303) was chief judge in Marrakesh under  
 the Marinids. The work from which this biography is taken  
 is a sequel and complement to the Kitāb al-mawṣūl fī tarīkh  
'ulamā' al-andalus of Ibn Farāḍī (d. 403/1012-13) and to  
 the Kitāb al-ṣila fī akhbār a'immat al-andalus of Ibn Bashkuwāl  
 (d. 578/1182-3).

he mentioned the caliphs and their descendants in Andalusia, others of Quraysh, their mawlas, servants and assistants, famous Arabs who entered Andalusia from the Arab East who were not of Quraysh, their mawlas, servants and assistants, and famous people of the Berber tribes who occupied Andalusia, (which book) he showed to Al-Nāṣir Abū l-Muṭṭarīf `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad in 330 A.H., mentioned that in Jaen among the Lakhmids were the clan of Muḥannad b. `Umayr. He said that there they were a distinguished and religious group, having brave knights of the first wave (of the Arabs who entered Spain) including `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wāfid b. `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥarb b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥannad (Al-Qassām) of the first wave and al-Najāshī b. Ḥurayth b. `Aṣim b. Maḍā' b. Muḥannad. This requires that al-Najāshī was brother of Sa`īd, the great-grandfather of Aḥmad whose biography this is, and (brother of) `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā, the grandfather of `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wāfid, (both of whom are) mentioned in the lineage of Muḥannad.<sup>2</sup> The correct birthdate of Aḥmad is 513 A.H. Between his birth and the death of al-Ḥukayyim are 163<sup>3</sup> years, so it is virtually impossible

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<sup>2</sup>The judge of Cordova appointed in 401/1010 is Yaḥyā b. `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wāfid al-Lakhmī, his son. The story of his arrest and death in prison in 404/1013 is carried in `Alī b. `Abdullāh al-Nubāhī, Qudāt al-andalus, ed. E. Levi-Provencal, Beirut, 1967, pp. 88-89.

<sup>3</sup>Al-Ḥukayyim died in the year 341/952. The correct number of years between his death and the birth of Ibn Maḍā' should be 172/3 years.

for there to be three generations between him and Ḥurayth, (even) if we consider that al-Najāshī was a contemporary of al-Ḥukayyim, which seems most unlikely. If we consider him to be older than him, which seems likely, it is certain that this lineage cannot be maintained. Only God knows for sure. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī mentioned his death in his book Istī'āb which he compiled for al-Nāṣir, and also mentioned Maḍā' b. Muḥannad b. 'Umayr. He stated that he was head of Jaen and a righteous servant of God.

Aḥmad, the subject of this biography, was a Cordovan, of Jaenian origin long ago and from Sharrana.<sup>4</sup> (His surnames were) Abū Ja'far, Abū l-'Abbās and Abū l-Qāsim, the latter little used. He learned Hadith with Abū l-Ḥasan 'Amir, the husband of his maternal aunt, and Abū l-Ḥasan Shurayḥ, for whom he read the Meccan and Medinan (Qur'anic) readings, and (also from) Abū l-Bakr Ibn 'Abdullāh b. al-'Arabī, Abū l-Bakr Ibn Muḥammad b. al-Markhī, Abū Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Baṭrūjī, Abū l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ishtarakūnī, with whom he stayed for a while, Abū 'Abdullāh Ja'far, the grandson of Makkī, Abū 'Abdullāh Ibn Muḥammad b. al-Manāṣif, Abū 'Abdullāh Ibn Mas'ūd b. Abū l-Khiṣāl,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Sharrana is in the province of Jerez de la Frontera.

<sup>5</sup>Killed in 540/1145. See 'Umar b. Ḥasan Ibn Dihya, al-Muṭrib min ash'ar ahl al-maghrib, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī et.al., Cairo, 1954, p. 187, n.1.

Abū `Umar Aḥmad b. Sālih, and Abū l-Qāsim `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Raḍī, for whom he read the seven readings.

He studied with Abū Bakr `Abd al-`Azīz b. Mudīr, Abū l-Ḥajjāj b. (names missing in text) al-Undī, Abū `Abdullāh b. Mūsā b. Waḍḍāḥ, Abū Muḥammad Ibn `Alī l-Rashāṭī, Abū Muḥammad Ibn (missing in text) al-Mursī, Abū Muḥammad `Abd al-Ḥaqq b. `Aṭīyya, Abū Marwān `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Quzmān and Abū Marwān Ibn Masarra. He was a companion of Abū `Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥamzī. In Ceuta he met Abū l-Faḍl `Iyāḍ. All of them licensed him.

He read the reading of Nāfi` under Abū l-Ḥasan `Abd al-Jalīl b. `Abd al-`Azīz, and related (traditions) on the authority of Abū Ja`far b. Muḥammad b. al-Markhī, Abū l-Ḥasan `Abd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥijāzī, Abū `Abdullāh b. `Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu`ammar, and Abū l-`Abbās b. Khaṣīb. He learned Arabic from Abū Bakr b. Sulaymān b. Samḥūn and Abū l-Qāsim `Abd al-Raḥmān b. (missing in text) al-Rammāk, from whom he learned the Book of Sībawayh. He learned the prose and poetry of the Sherif Abū Muḥammad `Abd al-`Azīz b. al-Ḥasan from (the author). However, it is not recorded that any of these licensed him.

Although they did not meet him, he was licensed by Abū Bakr b. `Abd al-Ghanī b. Fandala, Abū l-Ḥasan b. `Abdullāh b. Muḥib and Abū Marwān b. `Abd al-`Azīz al-Bājī.

These are his masters in various disciplines whom we have been able to ascertain, but we do not know the

manner in which he related on their authority: Abū l-Ḥasan `Abd al-Raḥmān b. (missing in text) b. Baqī, Abū l-`Abbās b. Thu`bān, and Abū l-Qāsim b. Bashkuwāl. These are the masters (lacuna in text). Abū Ya`qūb Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. `Isā b. `Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tādilī al-Marrākushī Ibn al-Zayyāt taught him to recite on the authority of Abū Baḥr Sufyān b. al-`Aṣī and Abū l-Ḥasan Yūnus b. Muḥammad b. Mughīth. This does not seem likely to me since Abū Ja`far failed to include them among his masters. His recitation surpassed that of these two, especially that of Abū Bakr.

Among those relating on his authority were Abū Bakr Ghālib b. al-Sharrāṭ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn `Abdullāh al-Qurṭubī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn `Abd al-Nūr, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥriz, Abū Ja`far b. Muḥammad Abū Ḥijja, Abū l-Ḥajjāj Ibn Ḥusayn b. `Umar, Abū l-Ḥajjāj Ibn `Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn Namawī, Abū l-Ḥasan Ibn `Abdullāh b. Quṭrāl, who wrote about part of his judgeship, Abū l-Ḥasan Ibn `Abd al-Ṣamad b. al-Jinān, Abū l-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad al-Balawī, Abū l-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad al-Shārī, Abū l-Ḥasan Ibn Manṣūr, Abū l-Ḥasan Ibn Najba, Abū l-Ḥusayn `Ubaydullāh al-Dāyirī, Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa`īd b. Zarfūn, Abū l-Khaṭṭāb `Umar b. Ḥasan b. al-Jumayyil, Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad b. Khalīl, the latter two specialized in him, Abū Zakariyyā Hilāl b. `Aṭiyya, Abū Sulaymān Ibn Ḥawṭallāh, and his brother, Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥawṭallāh, Abū `Umar Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, Abū `Abdullāh Ibn `Abdullāh

al-Azdī, the Resident of Cueta, Abū `Abdullāh Ibn `Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Talamsīnī, Abū `Abdullāh Ibn (lacuna in text) al-Ṣumayyil, Abū l-`Abbās al-Mawrūrī, Abū l-`Abbās Ibn Muḥammad al-Baṭbaṭ, Abū `Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥajjāj, Abū `Alī `Umar b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Shalawbīn, Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad al-Balawī, our master, Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad Ibn Yazīd b. Baqī, Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn `Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad al-Mallāḥī, Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad b. `Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥājj, Abū l-Qāsim `Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Furs, Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qurṭubī, Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥājj, and others.

Our master, Abū l-Qāsim al-Balawī, said, "In a large group I audited under him one of his works entitled al-Mushriq "The Enlightener" read by Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥawṭallāh in Seville. When he finished reading it, he requested that (Ibn Maḍā') license him and all those in attendance. He responded and licensed us."

At the beginning of Muḥarram 592 A.H. Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Wājib requested a general license in all of the various types (of knowledge) correctly attributable to him for all of those students present who wished to recite on his authority from that time forward, and he granted it to them. As a result of this licensing, those who taught on his authority were our master Abū Ishāq Ibn Aḥmad b. al-Qashshāsh, Abū `Alī al-Ḥasan b. `Alī al-Māqirī and Abū l-Qāsim al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad b. al-Ṭulaysān, may

God have mercy on them and those like them.

(Ibn Maḍā') was a chanter of the Qur'an in the tajwid style, a relator of Hadith, with extensive knowledge of the oral tradition, able to relate extensively and excellently, accurate in his Hadith and reliable in what he passed on. He grew up devoted to seeking knowledge, and paid the utmost attention to seeking out scholars and learning from them. He was one of those great scholars who closed out the 6th century. He was well-versed in matters of jurisprudence, aware of its principles, advanced in scholastic learning, skilled in the basic sciences such as medicine, mathematics and geometry, wise, with a lively mind as well as firmly religious, of immaculate reputation, having memorized languages, insightful into grammar and selective about it, seeking independent and unique judgements about Arabic by which he distinguished himself with ideas and approaches which were at variance with the traditional Arabic grammarians.

He wrote his views in his previously mentioned book al-Mushriq and Tanzīh al-qur'ān 'an mā lā yalīqu bil-bayān "Exonerating the Qur'an from those anthropomorphic elements not suitable for exposition." He was challenged on this work by Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Kharūf who responded with his book entitled Tanzīh a'immat al-naḥw 'an mā nusiba ilayhim min al-khaṭa' wal-saḥw "Exonerating the leading grammarians from the error and negligence attributed to them." He was brilliant in Arabic declensions and conjugations,

an eloquent author, an excellent poet, deeply-versed in rational matters and tradition. However, he suffered the loss of his sources of tradition when the Christians, may God destroy them, siezed Almeria (lacuna in text).

He was kind-hearted, generous, pleasant to meet and associate with. He took it not unto himself to hate any Muslim, was clean-spoken, truthful in speech, of good appearance, and fully possessed the manly virtues. In the full blossom of his youth he met with injustice at the hands of an envious peer and compatriot which compelled him to leave Cordova and roam the earth until he settled in the mountain of Tinmalal, a lofty peak west of Marrakush. He settled down there to teach and spread the knowledge he possessed. This was in the decade of the 540's, at a time when the state of `Abd al-Mu'min and his sect was expanding in strength and splendor. The populace of that place and others began studying with him.

He read (the Qur'an) to the sons of `Abd al-Mu'min for a while and enjoyed his beneficence until he became famous. His merit, virtue and position became known, and his reknown spread. Abū Ya`qūb b. `Abd al-Mu'min learned of his position in the field of knowledge and became determined to possess his diversity of knowledge, and abundant share of the various sciences. He sent out a call for him, brought him to him, commended him, and held him in a favored position. He and his brothers vied with one another for his attention



and in honoring and praising him. He went with Abū l-Ḥasan, a brother of (Abū Ya`qūb), to Fez as his scribe in the year 55\_(lacuna in text).<sup>6</sup>

In 563 he went to Cordova as the shaykh of his brother Abū Ishāq. The man in charge of looking into the affairs of the townspeople and the qadi (judge) of Cordova at the time was Abū Muḥammad Ibn Mughīth b. al-Ṣaffār. Abū Muḥammad b. Yaghmur was the chief of the students. Disputes between the three led to a strong alienation between Abū Ja`far (Ibn Maḍā') and the two Abū Muḥammads. But Abū Ja`far remained aloof from the other two. It never occurred to him even to mention the other two even though his close friends frequently informed him of calumny and slander of him in which the two were engaged. He would turn away and pay them no attention.

But then a delegation from Cordova under Abū Ishāq went to visit Abū Ya`qūb b. `Abd al-Mu'min in Seville. He had Abū Ja`far accompany him as an honored guest as was his custom. At the same time a man known as al-Arajūnī who feigned knowledge, frequented (Abū Ja`far) and pretended to be a partisan of his, a man whom people made fun of because of his ignorance and lack of seriousness, wrote a letter to Abū Ja`far filled with various derisive remarks

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<sup>6</sup>This is almost certainly 551/1156, the date of `Abd al-Mu'min's distribution of provincial governorships to his sons. Charles-Andre Julien, History of North Africa, ed. C.C. Stewart, London, 1970, p. 108.

against Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ṣaffār, mocking him and describing him with this verse of poetry, "This is a time of difficulty; brace yourself, Ziyam!" inciting him to call Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ṣaffār to account.<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately, this note fell into the hands of Abū Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Mu'min who was a man of grave seriousness, determined not to permit foolishness. He magnified the matter and scorned Abū Ja'far for descending so low as to give voice to such baseness, using it, and permitting (al-Arajūnī) while he was in correspondence with him to write such things as the note contained. He banned Abū Ja'far from attending his council and systematically avoided him until he sent his brother Abū Zakariyyā to Bougie.

When it came time for (Abū Zakariyyā) to leave, he interceded on Abū Ja'far's behalf on the basis of his long association with them and because of the great respect he commanded among them. He wanted him pardoned and appointed as judge of Bougie. (Abū Ya'qūb) granted his request in every respect, whereupon Abū Ja'far went with him, his due amount of respect and reverence fully restored to its previous state, and resided as judge of Bougie until Abū Zakariyyā died. Abū Ya'qūb then called him back to his

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<sup>7</sup>Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'arab, p. 1902, says Ziyam is the mount, either horse or camel, of Jābir b. Hunayn. This phrase was used to call on others to prepare in earnest for a coming battle. Its intent here is somewhat unclear, but may have been to urge Ibn Maḍā' to seek to unseat his antagonists at the court of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf.

presence and reinstated him in his place and position where he remained as one of the most senior of those who attended Abū Ya`qūb's council until the chief judge Abū Mūsā `Isā b. `Umrān died in Marrakesh on (lacuna in text) the fifth last day of Sha`bān 578. Abū Ja`far was made chief judge on that day.<sup>8</sup>

Prior to Bougie, he had served as judge in Fez, and after the death of Abū Zakariyyā, in Tunis. He assumed the position and remained as judge until Abū Ya`qūb b. `Abd al-Mu'min died in the last ten days of Rabī` al-Awwal 580. Abū Ya`qūb's son, Abū Yūsuf Ya`qūb al-Manṣūr, took over and confirmed him as the chief judge until he went with him to North Africa on the second campaign to Gafsa. He left Marrakesh on the third of Shawwāl 582.

At the time that al-Manṣūr entered Kairouan to inspect and study its monuments and to rest therein, Abū Ja`far fell ill. Al-Manṣūr had the intention of promote Abū `Abdullāh b. `Alī b. Marwān, who will be mentioned subsequently in the appropriate location in this book, God willing, to the position of chief judge. Abū Ja`far's illness became the reason for doing so. He appointed Abū `Abdullāh to

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<sup>8</sup>According to al-Mu`jib, p. 236, Abū Mūsā `Isā b. `Umrān was succeeded by Hajjāj b. Ibrāhīm al-Tujībī al-Aghmātī, upon whose death Ibn Maḍā' succeeded to the chief judgeship.

his post.<sup>9</sup>

Abū Ja'far left Kairouan for Tunis and settled there. Al-Manṣūr left for Marrakesh. Subsequently, Abū Ja'far recovered and wrote to al-Manṣūr requesting permission to come to Marrakesh. He wrote to him appointing him to the judgeship of Boujie, which post he assumed for a time, and then resigned. He travelled to Andalusia to meet al-Manṣūr there, taking up residence in Seville where he taught Hadith and various sciences. Abū l-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Jumayyil's statement that Abū Ja'far sought to be excused from the judgeship on the pretext that he was of advanced age and too weak to carry out the judgements required of him, and that al-Manṣūr granted him this request and excused him out of deference, is not accurate.

Likewise, Ustādh Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥa's statement that Abū l-Qāsim b. Baqī was invested with the post of chief judge when Abū Ja'far Ibn Maḍā' became too old is not true. Rather, Abū l-Qāsim became chief qadi when Abū 'Abdullāh Ibn Marwān left the post in Seville for a reason which will be mentioned under his entry, God willing.

When Abū Ja'far arrived in Andalusia he devoted himself to advancing knowledge and being of patient benefit to

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<sup>9</sup>According to al-Ghusūn al-yāni'a, pp. 31-34, Ibn Maḍā' suggested the appointment of Abū 'Abdullāh to the judgeship. Al-Mu'jib, p. 264, incorrectly states that Ibn Maḍā' held the post until his death, at which time he was succeeded by Abū 'Abdullāh.

his students until he died, with the grace of God, in Seville prior to the afternoon prayer on Thursday, the eighth day before the end of Jumādī al-Awwal) 592. Funeral prayers were held in the Seville mosque after the Friday prayer, the day after his death, after which he was buried in the Cemetery of the Notables outside the Jahwar gate, one of the gates of Seville. He was born in Cordova on the night of Lesser Bairam in the year 511 or 513, the latter being more correct.

With our master, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ruʿaynī, may God have mercy on him, I read and copied from his own script the following: I was told by our friend, the (Qurʾanic) reader Abū l-Qāsim, "Abū l-Qāsim Ibn Baqī and Abū Bakr b. Ghālib said that Abū l-ʿAbbās Ibn Maḍāʾ recited this poetry of his own composition to them after he had grown homesick for Cordova, his homeland, while he was in a remote country:

How I wish I knew, but wishing benefits not the homesick,  
Will my life find peace,  
When I look into the eyelid of Cordova,  
And my eye no longer sees the city of Nafees?"<sup>10</sup>

I was informed of these two lines and licensed by our master Abū l-Qāsim al-Balawī.

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<sup>10</sup>Nafees is the river that runs through the valley where the town of Tinmalal is situated.

TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

| <u>Arabic</u> | <u>English</u> |           | <u>Arabic</u> | <u>English</u>   |
|---------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|--|
| ا             | '              |           | ن             | n  |
| ب             | b              |           | هـ            | h  |
| ت             | t              |           | و             | w  |
| ث             | th             |           | ي             | y  |
| ج             | j              |           |               |  |
| ح             | ḥ              | long ı or | ى             | ā  |
| خ             | kh             |           | و             | ū  |
| د             | d              |           | ي             | ī  |
| ذ             | dh             |           |               |  |
| ر             | r              | doubled   | يـ            | iiy (final form ī)   |
| ز             | z              |           |               |  |
| س             | s              |           | وـ            | uww (final form ū)   |
| ش             | sh             |           |               |  |
| ص             | ṣ              | short     | اَ            | a  |
| ض             | ḍ              |           | اِ            | i  |
| ط             | ṭ              |           | اُ            | u  |
| ظ             | ẓ              |           |               |  |
| ع             | ʿ              |           | ة             | a (-at in construct case)<br>t after ı                           |
| غ             | gh             |           |               |  |
| ف             | f              |           |               |  |
| ق             | q              |           | ال            | al- (or l- if previous word is vowel-final for titles and names. |
| ك             | k              |           |               |  |
| ل             | l              |           |               |  |
| م             | m              |           |               |  |

Sun letter assimilation is shown in grammatical citations only.

The transliteration system used in this dissertation follows that of the International Journal of Middle East Studies.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| A     | <u>Al-Adāb</u> , Beirut.   |
| BEO   | <u>Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales</u> .  |
| EI    | <u>Encyclopaedia of Islam</u> .  |
| HJT   | <u>Hawliyyāt al-Jāmi'a l-Tūnisiyya</u> , Tunis.                                |
| IBLA  | <u>Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes</u> , Tunis.                             |
| IC    | <u>Islamic Culture</u> , Hyderabad.  |
| JAL   | <u>Journal of Arabic Linguistics</u> , Leiden.                                 |
| JAOS  | <u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u> , New Haven.                   |
| JSAI  | <u>Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam</u> , Jerusalem.                      |
| LA    | <u>Al-Lisān al-'Arabī</u> , Rabat.   |
| Mf    | <u>Al-Muqtataf</u> , Beirut, Cairo.  |
| Mq    | <u>Al-Mashriq</u> , Beirut.  |
| MIDEO | <u>Melanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire</u> , Cairo. |
| MKAI  | <u>Majallat Kulliyvat al-Adāb</u> , Alexandria.                                |
| MMIA  | <u>Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī</u> . Damascus.                       |
| MMLA  | <u>Majallat Majma' al-Lughā al-'Arabiyya</u> , Cairo.                          |
| MW    | <u>The Muslim World</u> , Hartford.  |
| RIEI  | <u>Revue de l'Institut de Etudes Islamiques</u> , Madrid.                      |
| SI    | <u>Studia Islamica</u> , Paris.  |

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